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CARTOON AND COMIC ART STUDIES



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酒徒

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This issue of *Inks: Cartoon and Comic Art Studies* focuses on a single topic, an overview of cartooning in China during this century. In the spring of 1997, Ohio State University's Cartoon Research Library was honored to be the site of *Literature in Line: Lianbuanhua Picture Stories from China*, believed to be the first exhibition of *lianbuanhua* in the United States. The two curators of the exhibition, Kuiyi Shen and Julia F. Andrews, adapted the articles in this issue from the monograph *Literature in Line: Lianbuanhua*

*Picture Stories from China.**

Shanghai, as China's most influential industrial and cultural metropolis, served as its publishing center throughout the twentieth century. The term *lianbuanhua*, literally "linked pictures," was coined in Shanghai in the 1920s to describe a form of illustrated story that had been developing in urban China since the introduction of Western printing technology in the late nineteenth century. *Lianbuanhua* books are usually only about three by five inches in size, with one picture to a page, and they serve a market similar to that



The cover of the first volume of *Arrest of the Orchid* shown at its actual size.

editorial



inks

CARTOON AND COMIC ART STUDIES

of comic books in the West. The term *manhua* is used to indicate comic strips and political cartoons in Chinese. It stems from the Japanese word *manga* and usually refers to work published in magazines and newspapers.

Readers may be struck by the fact that *lianbuanhua* and *manhua* are described as "paintings" by the authors. While the work of Milton Caniff and Walt Kelly was "painted" in the sense of being created with a brush, thinking of their cartoons as paintings is foreign to our culture. The distribution system for *lianbuanhua* and their enormous sales volume may also be novel to many. We hope that this special issue provides insights not only into the world of Chinese cartooning, but also, through implied comparisons and contrasts, into that of the West.

We are grateful for the generous assistance of the Shanghai People's Art Publishing House.

* To order a copy of this monograph, send a check for \$10.00 (payable to Ohio State University) to Ohio State University Cartoon Research Library, 27 W. 17th Ave. Mall, Columbus OH 43210-1393.

China is one of the world's oldest civilizations. In the North China Plain, dynastic rule began around 2000 B.C.E. The territory of the empire was expanded and unified during the Qin (221 B.C.E.) and Han (206 B.C.E.) dynasties, and the basic pattern of imperial bureaucratic government was established at that time. The following governments of China are mentioned in the articles by Kuiyi Shen and Julia F. Andrews:

Qing dynasty (1644-1911)
Republican China (1911-1949)
People's Republic of China
(1949-present)

ARTICLES

2

COMICS, PICTURE BOOKS, AND CARTOONISTS IN REPUBLICAN CHINA

by Kuiyi Shen

17

LITERATURE IN LINE: PICTURE STORIES IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

by Julia F. Andrews

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DEPARTMENTS

RESOURCES

- 33 Selected Bibliography of *Manhua* and *Lianbuanhua*
Compiled by Kuiyi Shen

REVIEWS

- 36 *Dreamland Japan: Writings on Modern Manga* by Frederik Schodt
Reviewed by John A. Lent
- 37 *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (rev. ed.)
by L. Perry Curtis, Jr.
Reviewed by Bruce Wheltle
- 39 *Derby Dugan's Depression Funnies* by Tom De Haven
Reviewed by V. Cullum Rogers
- 41 *The Great Women Superheroes* by Trina Robbins
Reviewed by Amy Kiste Nyberg
- 42 *I Want to See This Annie Mattygraph:
A Cartoon History of the Coming of the Movies* by Stephen Bottomore
Reviewed by M. Thomas Inge

49 Contributors

The **cover illustration** is adapted from the business card of He Youzhi, a leading contemporary Chinese cartoonist, and is used by permission. Beneath his self-caricature, the characters read "He Youzhi, artisan and drinker."

Comics, Picture Books, and Cartoonists in Republican China

BY KUIYI SHEN



A page from *Xue Rengui Going on an Eastern Expedition* by Liu Boliang, published in 1920.

Although some scholars claim that the origin of *lianbuan tubua* (illustrated story book) may be traced back to historic Chinese artforms,¹ the embryonic form of *lianbuan tubua* did not appear until the late nineteenth century when lithographic printing was introduced to Shanghai by Westerners. The method diminished costs and brought new techniques to the Chinese illustrated press, along with simplified and increased production. From the 1880s on, many magazines showed interest in lithographic printing. The public especially appreciated the illustrations of popular novels of the time and these books can be considered to be the direct predecessors of the *lianbuanhua*. Ten illustrations for a narrative about the Korean rebellion published in a 1884 issue of *Dianshizai Pictorial* may be the earliest example.²

In 1899 Wenyi Book Company of Shanghai published *The Story of the Three Kingdoms*, illustrated with lithographs drawn by Zhu Zhixuan, and it was a great success. The book was called "*buibui tu*" because it had one illustration for each chapter (*bui*). By putting the text and picture into a single composition, *buibuitu* is close to the format of the later *lianbuan tubua*.

At the dawn of the revolution of 1911, the new forms of popular literature, such as newspapers, magazines, and booklets, emerged gradually. In 1916 the newspaper *Caobao* bound its single page pictorial into the format of an album, much like the format later used for *lianbuanhua*.³ Because the newspaper bound in this format was much easier to carry, and its mixture of text and pictures could attract more middle and lower class audiences, *Caobao* quickly became very popular in Shanghai. Many small publishers, especially those previously only publishing the libretti of operas, vied with one another in finding painters to create pictures for this kind of picture-text album. Although the content of *Caobao*'s albums was mostly news and current events mixed with pictures (not illustrated stories), the prototype of the format for *lianbuanhua* was established in Shanghai.

After lithography, other new printing processes used in Europe and the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century appeared in Shanghai and then spread to other large cities of the country. These spread a pictorial literature that became more and more sought by the public. Picture books were called different names in different regions: "*xiaoshu*" (little book) or "*tubuashu*" (picture book) in Shanghai, "*gongzaishu*" (kid's book) in Guangzhou, "*yaya shu*" (children's book) in Wuhan, or "*xiaorensu*" (kid's book) in the north.

In 1918 a famous Peking opera serial, *Exchange the Prince with a Leopard Cat* (*Limao huan taizi*), successfully played in Shanghai for several months. Several small publishers thought it might be an opportunity to make money, so they immediately asked painters to draw illustrated story books based on the script of the opera. Compared to the previous *xiaoshu* which focused on news and current events, the contents of these illustrated opera stories were more familiar, and the continuity of their narratives also made them much easier for people to comprehend. But most of these books were drawn quite roughly. The background in the paintings were simply copied from the stage settings, and the figures were also modeled on the opera characters, keeping all the traditional symbolism of the costumes, gestures and make-up. The crude artistic style of the illustrated opera stories may be due to the fact that a major concern of the small publishers was time. They tried to coordinate the publications with the schedules of performances, so the cartoonists they commissioned were asked to draw at least ten pages every day. It is not surprising, therefore, that these drawings were done in such a rough and slipshod way. In spite of this, illustrated opera stories proliferated and became very popular. Later the themes of illustrated story books were expanded to novels and current social events. The earliest example may be *Xue Rengui Going on an Eastern Expedition* (*Xue Rengui dongzheng*), which was painted by Liu Boliang and based on the novel of the same title published by Youwen Book Company in 1920. The format used by Liu Boliang in this book was followed by most *lianbuanhua* painters during the next decade.

The *lianbuanhua* illustrated by Zhu Runzai were among the most successful and popular.

Zhu Runzai, who was born in 1890 in Yancheng in Jiangsu, was one of the first painters to draw illustrated story books. He was educated in an old-style private school and learned traditional painting from local painters. In 1912 he went to Shanghai to seek

his career. After failing to sell paintings for a living, he started to draw illustrations for small publishers, where he got to know two cartoonists, Liu Boliang and Li Shuchen. Encouraged by Liu and Li, Zhu Runzai turned his talents to drawing *lianbuanhua*.

The themes of his drawings were mostly adopted from novels and historical romances. By the 1930s he asserted himself as one of the principle cartoonists in Shanghai. In his work, the depiction of backgrounds eliminated the influence of stage sets, and the poses of his figures were more vivid. Although he died in 1926 at the age of forty-six, he completed more than thirty comic serials, which included *Historical Romance of Three Kingdoms (Sanguo yanyi)* and *Tianbaotu*. His works were very popular and influential among the poor. There was a saying common at the time that "If you read the *Tianbaotu*, you won't feel hungry."

The sales volume of *lianbuan tubua* attracted large publishers. In 1925 World Book Company (*Sanguo yanyi*), which had been established in 1921 in Shanghai, published *History of the Three Kingdoms (Sanguo zhi)*, one of the most popular novels of the time. It was then painted by Chen Danxu and released with the title *Lianbuan tubua Sanguo zhi*. This was the first time the word "*lianbuan tubua*" was applied to *xiaoshu*, an illustrated story book. After that *lianbuan tubua* became the



An example from the 1933 work, *Historical Romance of the Three Kingdoms* by Zhu Runzhai

special term indicating this kind of cartoon strip. Later, people omitted the character "tu," and simply called them *lianbuanhua*.⁵

The popularity of this kind of picture book may be partly attributed to a unique distribution system. Because themes of *xiaoshu* were mostly plays, wild anecdotes, and legendary stories, reading *xiaoshu* was considered vulgar and in bad taste by intellectuals, and most bookstores did not want to sell them.⁶ *Xiaoshu* did, however, attract readers from certain groups of society, mostly children and people with low incomes. A unique distribution network developed in Shanghai. Small publishers sold *xiaoshu* to street book-booth owners instead of going through bookstores to readers. The street book-booths, in most cases, did not sell these books, but rented them out to people who did not have enough money to buy books.⁷

During the 1920s and early 1930s, most small publishers who published *lianbuanhua* were located on a street called Beigongyili in the Zhabei district of Shanghai. Every night the owners of book-booths would come to these small publishers to buy newly published popular comic serials. There were two new volumes of each comic serial going on the market daily, and most comic serials would be issued in more than two thousand copies. Usually after twenty-four volumes of the serial were issued, the publishers would bind them together and put them into a box, making them look like old-style books.⁸ The distribution network developed very fast. For coordinating this distribution system, the street book-booth owners and publishers established the "Shanghai Lianhuan tuhua Promotion Society" at Taoyuanli in south Shanghai in 1935,⁹ and it became a comic book exchange. Later the center of comic publishing was moved from Zhabei to Taoyuanli. Every afternoon at two o'clock, publishers would bring newly published comics there, and

then by about six o'clock the new comics would appear in the street book-booths.¹⁰

This distribution network required a unique production system. During the late 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, in addition to the World Book Company and a few other big publishers involved in the business for a short time, there were about twenty small publishers which published comic serials. Each small publisher usually had a couple of commissioned cartoonists, but the work was not done by a single cartoonist. Instead a kind of workshop developed. This master-disciple system continued until the beginning of the 1950s. Each master cartoonist usually had several disciples working for him. Because of the requirements of the special market and distribution system, speed of production was a major concern of the publishers. They usually required commissioned cartoonists to supply finished works on a daily basis. When a cartoonist received a commission from a publisher, the master would decide the compositions and draw the main images, then let his disciples draw the rest. Each student would be in charge of different details, such as architecture, rocks and trees, animals and flowers, and even the patterns and motifs of the clothes. Some students, after several years training, could receive commissions independently and accept their own students. Other students might work in the workshop for several years and never



A 1946 example of *The Birth of Mr. Wang* by Zhou Yunfang

洛陽橋



One page from *Luotang Bridge* by Qian Xiaodai, published in 1946.

have a chance to draw figures. If a cartoonist became famous, however, he might choose the themes and publisher himself.¹¹

Besides Zhu Runzai, three other younger cartoonists, Zhou Yunfang, Shen Manyun, and Zhao Hongben, were quite famous in the *lianbuanhua* field during the 1930s. They were even called *Four Stars* (*Sida mingdan*) of *lianbuanhua* following the tradition of Peking opera.¹² Zhou Yunfang learned to draw cartoons at fifteen. It was said that he was not only good at drawing ancient topics, but also at doing modern themes because he had learned western-style drawing. He attracted many young followers, who even formed a "Zhou style" of comics to compete with the followers of Zhu Runzai. In the 1940s he adapted the major characters from the famous comic serial of 1930s Shanghai, *Wang xiansheng*, which was drawn by Ye Qianyu, to make a comic book called *The Birth of Mr. Wang* (*Wang*

xiansheng chushì). Zhou Yunfang died at twenty-nine because of smoking opium.

Shen Manyun, born in Shanghai in 1911, was from a merchant family. When he was in the elementary school, he liked to collect cigarette cards and copied the paintings printed on these cards, bringing him numerous compliments from his teachers and classmates. Later when he worked in a pharmacy after his parents died, he did not give up his hope of becoming a painter. In 1926 he left his home town and came to Shanghai seeking his career. By chance, the place he stayed was Beigongyili, the center of the production and distribution of *lianbuanhua*. While he was there, Shen Manyun got to know the well-known cartoonist Liu Boliang and became his pupil. His first picture book, *Tale of Jigong* (*Jigong zhuan*), was published by Guangji Book Company upon the recommendation of Li Boliang. Shen Manyun was adept at draw-



Hundred Gibbons by Qian Binghe published in *Republic News*, 1913.

ing the themes of opera and legendary stories. It is said that every time a new opera or movie came, he would always go to see it and try to find some new topics for his work.¹³ Shen died in 1978.

Zhao Hongben, a native of Jiangsu born in 1915, was also a self-trained painter, who learned to draw by copying older cartoonists' work. He went to Shanghai and began his career in 1931, working at a small press. At first he followed Zhu Runzai's style and drew narratives based on traditional novels of fantasy and chivalry. During the Anti-Japanese War Zhao Hongben remained in Shanghai, and he adapted into cartoon strips progressive literary works such as *Sunrise* and *The Storm* by Cao Yu, as well as his version of the *Story of A Q*.¹⁴ In other illustrated stories he exalted the patriotism of the national heroes Shi Kefa and Zheng Chenggong, who fiercely resisted seventeenth century Manchurian invaders. The composition and perspective applied

in his work brought a new appearance to *lianbuanhua*. His later famous work, *Monkey King Beats the White-boned Demon*, demonstrated his mastery of the form.

The adaption of novels about knighthood to the cartoon format was often preceded by a movie version. Almost twenty movies were produced under the series title *The Fire in the Temple of the Red Lotus* between 1928 and 1931. Butterfly Hu (*Hu Die*), one of the most famous Chinese actresses of the time, played the main character in these films. Their success was such they were immediately adapted into *lianbuanhua* with a rapidity that jeopardized their quality. From this point on, film joined theater as one of the main sources of plots for *lianbuanhua*. The public in the big cities had the opportunity to read and view repeatedly the achievements of its favorite heroes. For those who did not have access to movies yet, *lianbuanhua* became the means of knowing the latest stories.

By the end of the 1940s, there were more than thirty professional *lianbuanhua* cartoonists in Shanghai. A younger generation appeared which included Qian Xiaodai, Chen Guangyi and Yan Meihua, some of whom were commercial designers earlier in their careers. The number of *lianbuanhua* publishers reached more than a hundred, and there were more than two thousand street book-booths in Shanghai. They even expanded their distribution network farther to Hong Kong, Singapore, and Indonesia.¹⁵

Battle between the South and North by Shen Bochen from *Shanghai Puck* 2 (1918).





前冬青聯想



子瞻畫



About Cutting Trees by Feng Zikai from *Wenxue zhoubao*, 1926.

Almost at the same time when these professional cartoonists developed the distinctive genre of *xiaoshu* that later became *lianbuanhua*, another group of commercial artists contributed comic strips to magazines and newspapers, and later to professional cartoon magazines. The appearance of these comic strips was greatly stimulated by the development of the printing industry, but more importantly it catered to the needs of a quickly rising middle-class of consumers in Shanghai. Because buyers of these journals and newspapers were usually educated people, different from those who purchased *xiaoshu*, the contents of the cartoons were also different. Satirical drawings denounced the seizures

by foreign imperialists and railed against the evils of society such as opium or gambling. Other works shed a humorous light on the particularities of everyday life in China and abroad. These cartoons were drawn more often in frames with only one image rather than a series of pictures. Because most creators of these drawings were better educated commercial artists and some had received training abroad, the styles of their work emulated western comics.

One of the well known early comic draftsmen was Qian Binghe, who was born in Zhejiang in 1874. He was skilled at traditional Chinese painting at an early age and worked for the daily pictorial, *Civil*

Rights Pictorial (*Minquan buabao*), established in 1911. Most of his work was published in *Minquan buabao*, *Republic Daily* (*Minguo ribao*), *Minli Daily* (*Minli ribao*) and *Shanghai Daily* (*Shen bao*).¹⁶ One of his most famous comic strips entitled *Hundred Gibbons* was published in *Miquan buabao* and *Republic News* (*Minguo xinwen*) for a year in 1913. The gibbon (*yuan* in Chinese) was a metaphor for Yuan Shikai, who tried to restore the dethroned monarch after he became the president of the republic. The cartoon series illustrated Yuan's activities of restoration and Sun Yat-sen's "Second Revolution."¹⁷ Qian died in 1944.

Shen Bochen learned traditional painting from a minor painter, Pan Yasheng; but he was known best as a cartoonist, and was considered the most influential and representative cartoonist of the May Fourth Movement, a period of high-brow political and cultural ferment that began in 1919. More than a thousand of his cartoons were published in *Shanghai Daily*, *Shenzhou Pictorial* (*Shenzhou buabao*), *Civil Rights Pictorial*, *Great Republic Daily* (*Da gonghe ribao*), *Current News* (*Shishi xinbao*), and other Shanghai newspapers and pictorials during the 1910s.¹⁸ After a short term visit to Japan and Beijing in 1917, Shen Bochen established *Shanghai Puck*, a bilingual comic monthly. *Shanghai Puck* may be the earliest comic magazine in China. First published in 1918, it was also called *Bochen's Comic Pictorial* (*Bochen buaji buabao*). According to the editorial Shen Bochen wrote in the first issue, the magazine had three "responsibilities": first, to give advice—warning both governments of the south and north and spurring them to work with concerted efforts to create a unified government; second, to help Westerners understand Chinese culture and customs and thus raise the position of China in the world; and third, to promote the new morality and practices and motivate people to discard the old.¹⁹ Besides Shen Bochen himself, other painters, such as Chen Baoyi and Wang Dungeng, also contributed their cartoons to the magazine. *Shenbao* reported that the first issue of the new magazine sold more than ten thousand copies in the Jiangnan area.²⁰ Because it was published in the May Fourth period, most of its cartoons were directly related to the current political issues. The magazine published only four issues and ceased after Shen Bochen died in 1919.

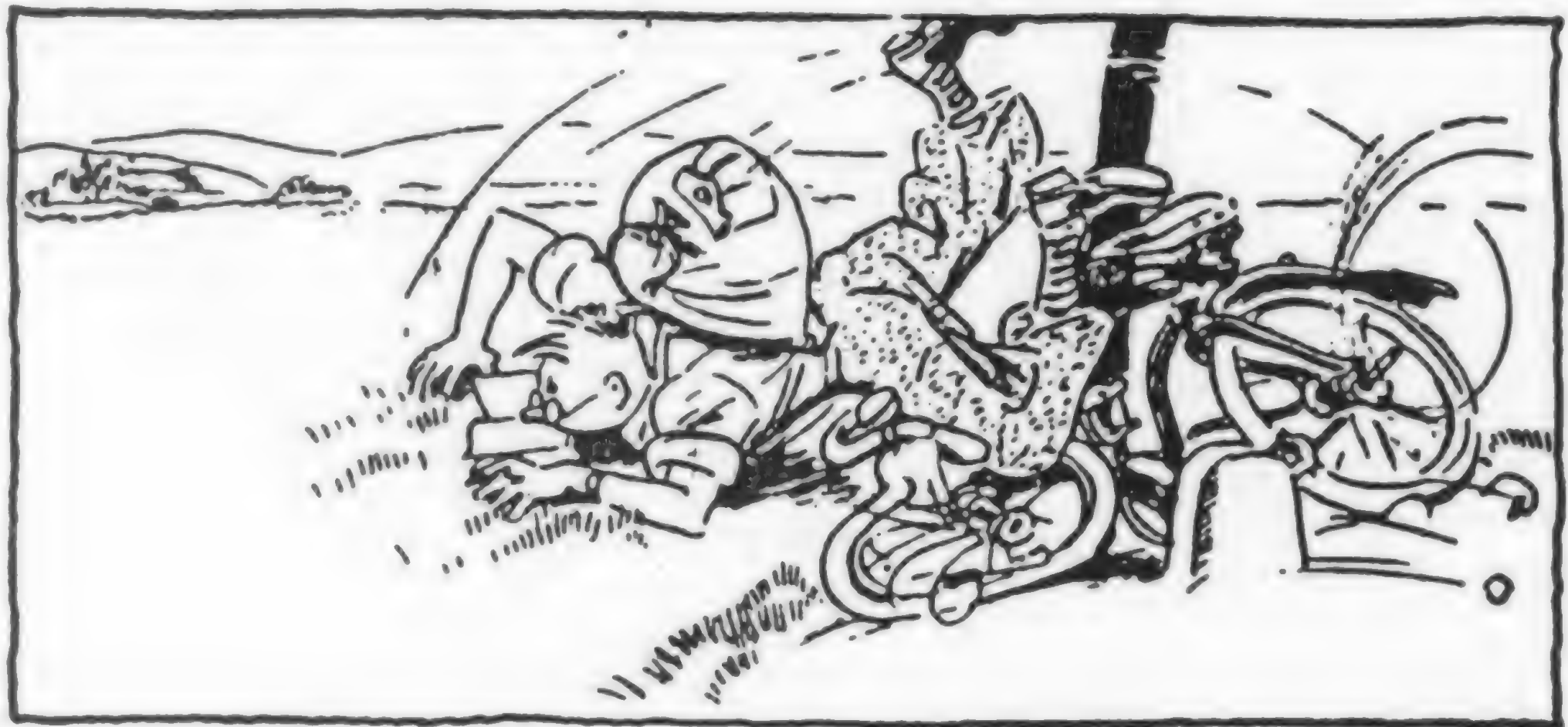
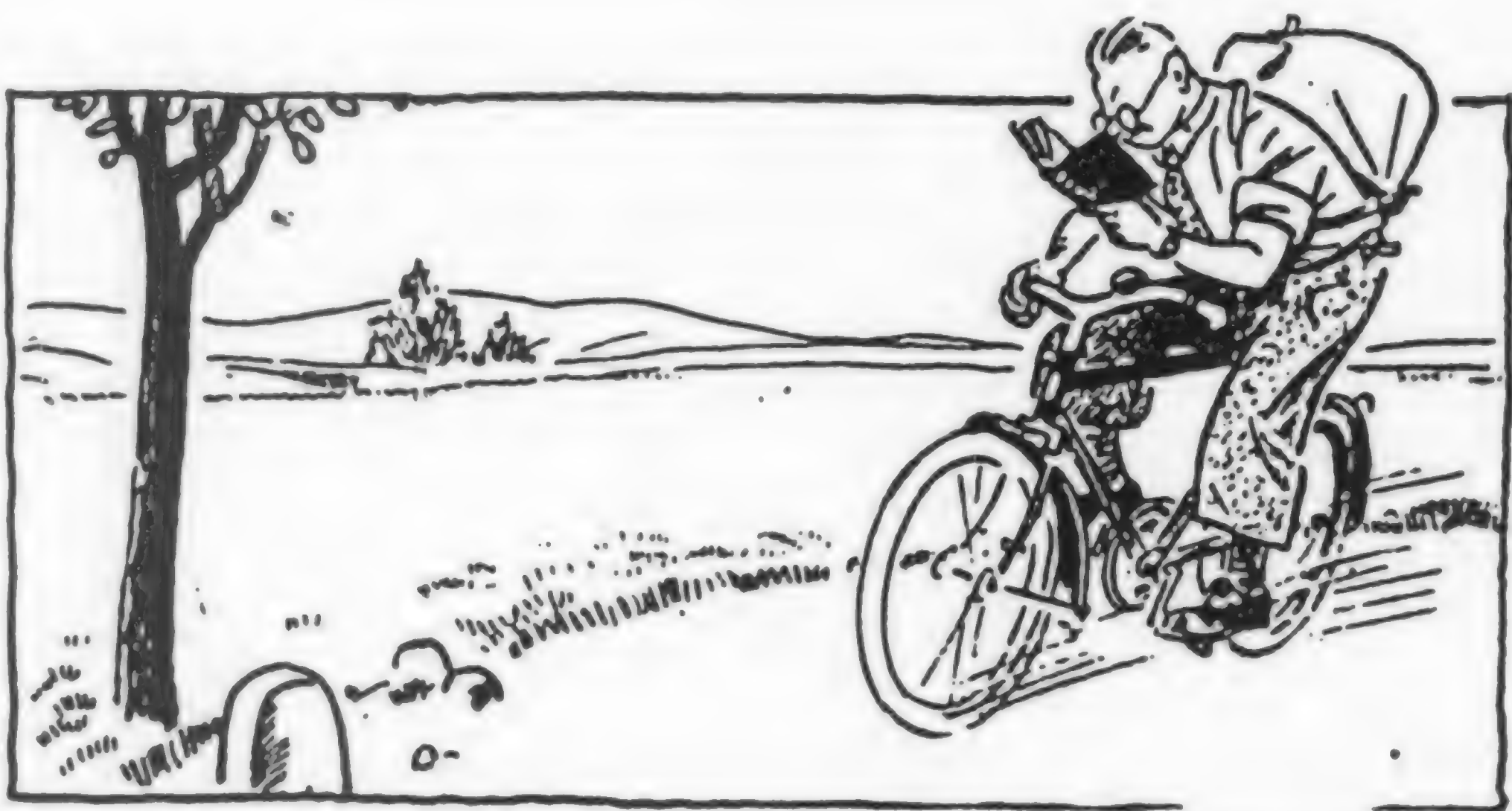
Manhua, the term used to indicate comics and cartoons in China, was borrowed from the Japanese word, *manga*. Zheng Zhenduo was the first to use this term, in reference to a cartoon by Feng Zikai published in *Literary News Weekly* (*Wenxue zhoubao*) in 1925. The next year, Feng Zikai's cartoon book

Zikai manhua was published by *Literary Weekly* (*Wenxue zhoubao*). After that, people used the term for comics and cartoons.²¹ For this reason, Feng Zikai is considered one of founders of Chinese *manhua*.

Feng Zikai, a native of Zhejiang, started his art career when he was a student at the Zhejiang First Normal School, where he was strongly influenced by his two teachers, the artist Li Shutong and writer Xia Mianzun.²² In 1921 he went to Japan to study art and music. The Japanese painter Takehisa Yumeji's style strongly influenced his later painting. Feng Zikai began drawing cartoons in 1923, and his first published comic strip appeared a year later in the magazine *Our July* (*Women de qiyue*), which was published by two famous writers, Zhu Ziqing and Yu Pingbo, in Shanghai.²³ Feng's comics attracted the attention of Zheng Zhenduo, a scholar who was the editor-in-chief of *Literary News Weekly* at the time. In 1925 Zheng set up a column for Feng's cartoons titled "*Zikai manhua*" in his weekly newspaper *Literary News Weekly*, and his work then became very popular in Shanghai.²⁴ The style of Feng's

A Q Was Defeated by Ye Qianyu in Comic A Q, 1937.





卷 釋 不 手

Keep Reading by Lu Shaofei, Shidai 113, December 1936.

comics was obviously influenced by Takehisa Yumeji and the Chinese painter Chen Shizeng, whose poetic quality could also be found in Feng's drawings.²⁵ During the Anti-Japanese war, Feng sent his editor a *lianhuanhua* based on Lu Xun's novel, *A Q Zhengzhuan*. This was followed by several series based on other works by the same author; but most of Feng Zikai's works were single panel cartoons depicting people's everyday life.

The earliest *manhua* association, Shanghai Comic and Cartoon Society (*Shanghai manhuabui*), was organized by a group of young cartoonists in Shanghai in 1927. Among its more important members were Ding Su, Wang Dunqing, Zhang Guangyu, Huang Wennong, Ye Qianyu, Lu Shaofei, and Zhang Zhengyu.²⁶ The major activity of the group was to publish a weekly journal, *Shanghai Cartoons* (*Shanghai manhua*), which featured not only comics, but also photography, paintings, and essays.

It sold about three thousand copies each issue in Shanghai and also was distributed to other areas through the newspaper distribution network.²⁷

In the foreword of the periodical, "Several Words of the Founders," the editors stated, "We don't want to be a guard-dog of the old morality to curse evil, and don't have interest in praising those vanity fairs either. The irregular changes of the world, however, must be the natural phenomena of the mixture of lives. Our effort is to express our feeling about the great and colorful life in Shanghai."²⁸ *Shanghai Cartoons* was less political than *Shanghai Puck*. There were only a couple of political cartoons each issue. Most works were comics about social life, the best-known of which was *Mr. Wang* (*Wang xian-sheng*), drawn by Ye Qianyu.

Ye Qianyu, whose real name was Ye Lunqi, was a native of Tonglu, Zhejiang. He loved to paint when he was in middle school, but he never

Selling Rice by Ye Qianyu, from the manhua Mr. Wang.





Fortune Teller by Ye Qianyu, from the manhua *Little Chen*.

received any formal art training. In 1925 he went to Shanghai and worked in a fabric company, where he sold cloth every morning and painted advertisements for the company in the afternoon.⁸⁹ Ye Qianyu started to draw comics in 1926, and his first publication was in *Three Day Pictorial* (*Sanri huakan*), which was published by two cartoonists, the brothers Zhang Guangyu and Zhang Zhengyu. In 1927 when the Zhang brothers and Ding Su organized Shanghai Comic and Cartoon Society, Ye became a leader.⁹⁰ He and Wang Dunqing were also in charge of the editorial work of *Shanghai Cartoons*.

The comic strip *Mr. Wang* was published in *Shanghai Cartoons* from its first issue. The character Mr. Wang symbolizes Shanghai life, with his conformity, his hunger for social success, and his lack of education and culture. This satiric cartoon describes the humble people of Shanghai. It does not attempt to save them. Instead it makes fun of their activities such as their immodest taste for gambling, mah jong

in particular. As a whole though, it depicted ordinary folk fairly in the panels that showed unmanageable creditors and brutal police officers. In these drawings Ye Qianyu exhibits an indisputable sense of characterization. Mr. Wang is a true comic strip hero, the first and one of the most original of this kind in China, and he very quickly became a favorite figure in Shanghai.

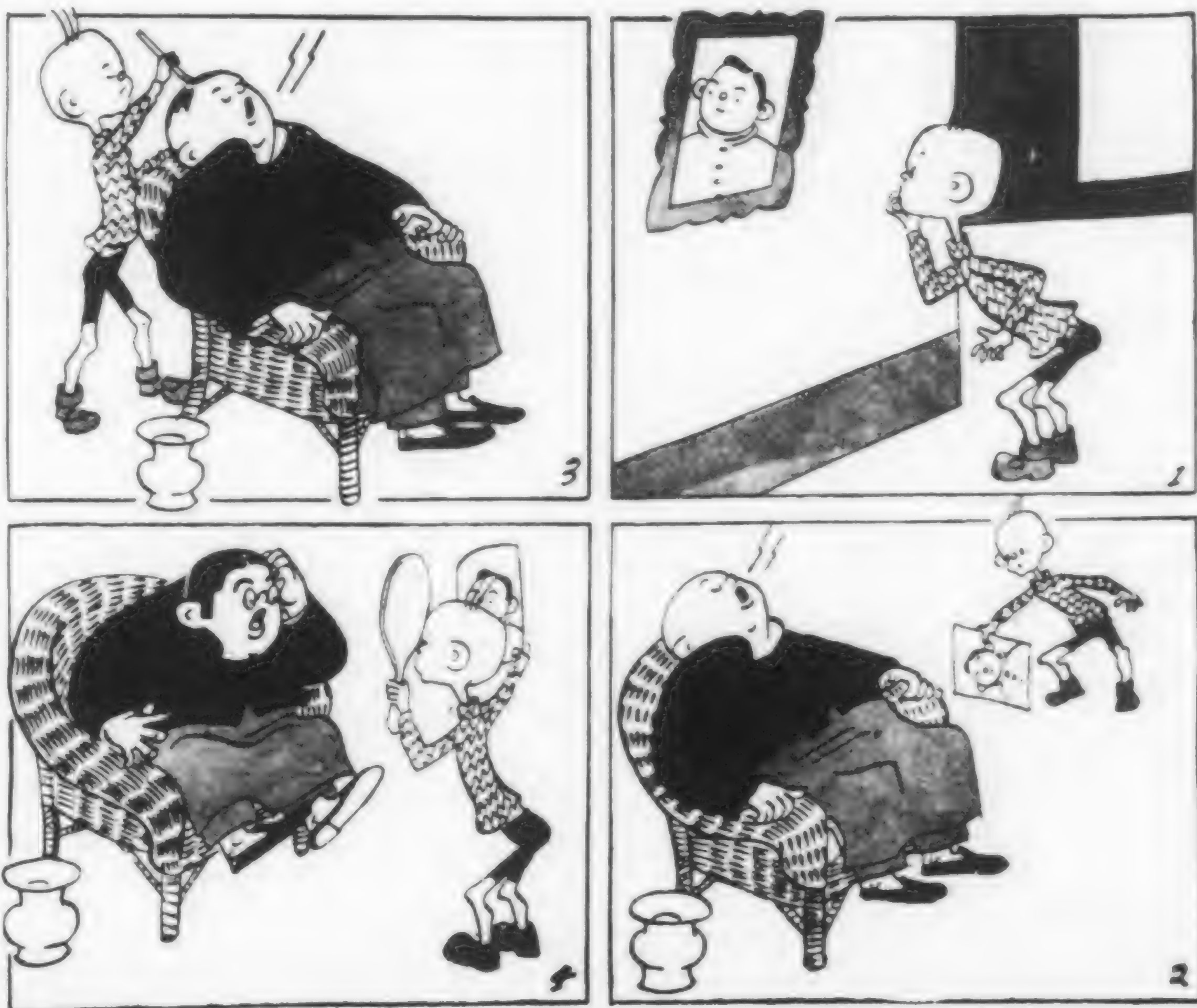
When *Shanghai Cartoons* stopped publication in 1930, the *Mr. Wang* series continued in *Time Pictorial* (*Shidai huabao*), edited by Ye Qianyu. After 1932 Ye Qianyu painted another series about Mr. Wang, called *Another Story of Mr. Wang* (*Wang xiansheng biezhuàn*), for *Picture Morning News* (*Tubua chenbao*). Mr. Wang now wore a hat, which was fashionable in Shanghai at the time. The hundreds of stories of *Mr. Wang* were an accurate reflection of the taste of the middle- and lower-class people of Shanghai. The *manhua* was based on the daily lives of its two major characters, Mr.

Wang (Wang Xiansheng) and Little Chen (Xiao Chen), and can be divided into four themes: the everyday routines of middle and lower class people in Shanghai; the corruption and incompetence of officials; sympathy for poor people; and the humorous things of life. Mr. Wang was not a favorite just in Shanghai. Ye Qianyu also created *Story of Mr. Wang in the South* (Wang Xiansheng) for Guangzhou and *Story of Mr. Wang in the North* (Wang xiansheng beizhuan) for Tianjin. The comic strip was even made into a movie in Shanghai in 1934. *Picture Morning News* continued to publish Mr. Wang for 182 issues.*

Besides Ye Qianyu, other cartoonists also did comics for *Shanghai manhua* and *Shidai manhua*, such as Lu Shaofei's *Big Boy* (Daxiaozì), and Liao Bingxiong's many short stories. Another important cartoonist, Zhang Leping, was born in 1910 in

Haiyan, Zhejiang. His mother, said to be good at embroidery and paper-cuts, may have been his first art teacher. Zhang went to Shanghai in 1926, and entered a painting studio to learn the craft. Later he worked in several printing companies to learn the painting of commercial ads. In 1928 he replaced Ye Qianyu as an employee at the Sanyou company after Ye left to edit *Shanghai manhua*. The following year he started to paint *manhua* and submit them to *Shidai manhua*, *Duli manhua*, and other comic magazines. His famous work *Three Hairs* (Sanmao) was first published in *Little Morning News* (Xiaochenbao) of Shanghai in 1935. The tragic story of the poor but lovable Sanmao immediately became a favorite of both children and adults in Shanghai. During the Anti-Japanese War, Zhang participated in the Anti-Japanese Cartoonists Brigade with Ye Qianyu and others, working in Wuhan and

Return of Youth by Zhang Leping, from the 1935 manhua Three Hairs.



Chongqing. He went back to Shanghai after the war and resumed drawing *Three Hairs*. The layout was the same as the original that had appeared in 1935 and 1936. The character kept his cunning, but the tone changed so that the kid became the victim of a materialist world consumed with money. Zhang Leping drew *Sanmao Joins the Army* for *Shenbao*, then in 1947 he started his most famous series *Sanmao Roaming the Streets* for *Dagongbao*. He died in 1992.

The mid-1930s was the golden era for the publication of *lianhuanhua* and *manhua* in China. In Shanghai alone, there were nineteen comic and cartoon magazines published. Among them were *Time Comics* (*Shidai manhua*) from 1934 to 1937; *Comics and Life* (*Manhua shenghuo*) in 1934 and 1935; *Independent Comics* (*Duli manhua*) in 1935 and 1936; and *Comic Circle* (*Manhuajie*) in 1936. *Time Comics* edited by Lu Shaofei was considered the best quality comic magazine of the time because every issue included several color pages and the cartoons were printed by zincography. More than 10,000 copies of the first issue were published.³⁴ During its three years of publication, more than a hundred cartoonists contributed their work to the magazine, and most of its major contributors were former members of the Shanghai Comic and Cartoon Society of the 1920s.

Shanghai was besieged in August of 1937, a few weeks after China's official entrance into the war against Japan. Shanghai cartoonists immediately organized the Shanghai Cartoonists Association for National Salvation, and published a journal *Cartoons for National Salvation* (*Jiufang manhua*) in September. Many cartoonists contributed their works to this journal, including Ye Qianyu, Zhang Guanyu, Shen Yiqian, Cai Ruohong, Liao Bingxiong, and Huang Miaozi. *Cartoons for National Salvation* published twelve issues until the fall of Shanghai in December of 1937, and it even circulated to Hankou, Guangzhou, and Hong Kong.³⁵ By the end of the year, great numbers of illustrators and cartoonists fled towards Canton and Hong Kong where they regularly used their art in the struggle against the invaders.

Also in August of 1937, Ye Qianyu and Zhang Leping founded a Cartoon Propaganda Team in Shanghai, which included Te Wei, Hu Kao, and other cartoonists. For almost three years, this group followed the itinerary of retreat towards the southwest of the governmental forces after the fall of Nanking, the capital, in December of 1937. They moved from Wuhan to Changsha, Guilin, and finally Chongqing. After becoming a division of the political department for the governmental and

Communist armies, which united in combat against the Japanese invaders, the group organized exhibitions of posters, caricatures, and satirical *manhua* along the way.³⁴ These exhibitions, held in parks or on streets, expanded out to the east (Jiangxi and Zhejiang) and the south (Canton and south of Guangxi). They described the atrocities committed by Japanese soldiers, the opposition by the Japanese to the war of occupation in China, and the necessary financial contributions for supporting the struggle for national salvation. These themes were reiterated in the bound booklets, small newspapers, and posters of comic strips and caricatures.

The Cartoon Propaganda Team also published a cartoon journal, *Cartoons of the Anti-Japanese War* (*Kangzhan Manhua*). This journal published fifteen issues, twelve of which appeared in Wuhan, three in Chongqing. More than thirty cartoonists contributed their work, among whom Zhang Leping, Liang Baibo, Liao Bingxiong, and Ye Qianyu were most popular. The journal not only published its members' works, but also included some anti-fascist work by European and American cartoonists.³⁵ In 1940, due to the fact that all means of government support ceased, the group stopped their activities. Individually, however, the members stayed active and found themselves allied with those who rallied in Chongqing after the siege of Canton at the end of 1938, and in Hong Kong during December 1941. Liao Bingxiong, Zhang Guanyu, Ye Qianyu, Ding Cong are the most well known of this group.

Between the political and social chaos of the 1920s and the Japanese invasion of 1937, Shanghai, the modern metropolis of China, enjoyed a short, peaceful break. After seventy years of development, a well-educated middle-class was solidly established in Shanghai. Even poorer people had an opportunity to experience the life of the modern city, although it was not necessarily peaceful and happy. Besides the booming economy, cultural activities took place on an unprecedented scale. Many public and private colleges and professional schools were established; various cultural, art, literature groups and societies were founded; shows and exhibitions were held every day; a variety of magazines and newspapers dazzled people's eyes. To count only art journals, there were more than seventy magazines published in Shanghai during the period from 1928 to 1936, not including art supplements of newspapers.³⁶ The response to modernity in Shanghai was extremely exciting but complicated. New and old, avant-garde and conservative, wholesale Westernizing and preserving traditions—a great variety of ideas, styles, and practices co-existed in this city. The short, peaceful break created a fantasy to Shanghai-

nese that they seemed to have an opportunity to do whatever they wanted to do. But behind this, a general effort to seek a peaceful, fair, and well-to-do life was fundamental to most Shanghai people. In comics, the middle-class could get their complaints about corrupt officials, dissatisfaction with inequities, and distaste about bad habits off their chests with a relaxed laugh. *Xiaoshu*, on the other hand, by using a new vehicle to convey the old-style culture, let people more easily appreciate novels, operas, and movies, in which they could find idealized heroes and a fair society. The development of *manhua* and *lianbuanhua* catered to the needs of middle and lower-class people, and should be considered a response to the new population of the metropolis of Shanghai. ●

NOTES

1. A Ying, *The History of Chinese Illustrated Story Books* (Beijing: People's Art Press, 1957), 1-12; Huang Ruogu and Wang Yiqiu, "The Concise History of Shanghai *Lianbuanhua*," *Shanghai meishu tongxun* 45, no. 12 (1993): 17-18.
2. Bai Chunxi et al., "Illustrated History of the Development of Chinese *Lianbuanhua*," *Lianbuanhua yishu* 12, no. 4 (1989): 77-81.
3. Huang and Wang, "The Concise History of Shanghai *Lianbuanhua*," 17-18.
4. See Zhu Guangyu, "A Memory of My Father Zhu Runzai," in *Selected Lianbuanhua of Zhu Runzai* (Beijing: People's Art Press, 1982): 53; and Bai Chunxi et al., "Illustrated History of Chinese *Lianbuanhua*," 84.
5. Chen Guangyi, "The Origin of the Term *Lianbuanhua*," *Lianbuanhua yanjiu* 15, no. 11 (1979): 66-69; Huang and Wang, "The Concise History of Shanghai *Lianbuanhua*," 18; and Bai Chunxi et al., "Illustrated History of Chinese *Lianbuanhua*," 78.
6. The attitude to these *xiaoshu* raised a debate in literary circles during the 1930s. Many writers and scholars were involved in the debate, including Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Hu Qiuyuan, and Du Heng. See Zhao Jiabi, "Lu Xun and *Lianbuanhua*," in *Lu Xun on Lianbuanhua* (Beijing: People's Art Press, 1982), 44-64.
7. Lu Shicheng, "A Special Distribution Network," *Lianbuanhua yanjiu* 21 (1981): 51-52.
8. Huang and Wang, "The Concise History of Shanghai *Lianbuanhua*," 18-19.
9. Huang and Wang, "The Unique Distribution System of *Lianbuanhua*," *Lianbuanhua yishu* 9 (1989): 115-119.
10. Huang Ruogu and Wang Yiqiu, "The Unique Distribution System of *Lianbuanhua*," 115-119. Interviews by the author with Wang Yiqiu and He Youzhi in December 1995; and August 1996, in Shanghai.
11. Interviews by the author with Wang Yiqiu and He Youzhi.
12. Ling Tao, "A Memory of My Teacher Shen Manyun," *Lianbuanhua yanjiu* 25 (1981): 82-88; Zhu Guangzheng, "A Memory of My Father Zhu Runzai," in *Selected Lianbuanhua of Zhu Runzai*, 51-58; Huang Rougu and Wang Yiqiu, "The Concise History of Shanghai *Lianbuanhua*," 19-20; and interviews by the author with Wang Yiqiu and He Youzhi.
13. Ling Tao, "A memory of My Teacher Shen Manyun"; Huang and Wang, "The Concise History of Shanghai *Lianbuanhua*," 19.
14. Zhao Hongben, "Producing *Lianbuanhua* for Forty-seven Years: the Years of 1931-1939," *Lianbuanhua yanjiu* 13, (1978): 55-62.
15. Lu Shicheng, "A Special Distribution System," 51-53.
16. Bi Keguan and Huang Yuanlin, *History of Chinese Comics* (Beijing: Culture and Art Publishing House, 1986), 37-38.
17. Zheng Yimei, "A Memory of Some Cartoonists," *Fengci yu youmo*, 3 (1979): n.p.
18. Shen Xueren, "About My Brother Shen Bochen." Here quoted from Bi and Huang, *History of Chinese Comics*, 48. Also see Ding Su, "My Past Friend Bochen," *Shanghai manhua* 18 (1928): n.p.
19. Shen Bochen, "The Responsibilities of the Magazine," *Shanghai Puck* 1 (September 1918): n.p. See Bi and Huang, *History of Chinese Comics*, 51-52.
20. Bi and Huang, *History of Chinese Comics*, 56.
21. See Feng Zikai, "Twenty Years of Creating Manhua," *The Complete Collection of Feng Zikai's Cartoon* (Shanghai: Kaiming Book Company, 1945): n.p.
22. Xia Mianzun, "Preface of Zikai Manhua," Bi and Huang, *History of Chinese Comics*, 71.
23. Wang Yamin et al., eds. Feng Zikai, "Chronicle of Feng Zikai," Xia Mianzun, "Preface of Zikai Manhua" in *Zikai Manhua* (Shanghai: Kaiming Book Company, 1926): n.p.
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25. Zhu Guangqian, "A Memory of My Old Friend Feng Zikai."
26. Bi and Huang, *History of Chinese Comics*, 82-83.
27. Bi and Huang, *History of Chinese Comics*, 86.
28. *Shanghai Manhua* (January 1928), 2.
29. Xie Bo, *Biography of Ye Qianyu* (Changchun: Jilin Art Publishing House, 1991), 33-43.
30. Bi and Huang, *History of Chinese Comics*, 82-86.
31. Xie Bo, *Biography of Ye Qianyu*, 88.
32. Wang Zimei, "The Evolution and Prospect of Chinese Cartoons," in *Comics and Life* 2 (1935): 1.
33. Bi and Huang, *History of Chinese Comics*, 152-157.
34. Xu Zhihao, *A Brief Index of Art Groups of China* (Shanghai: Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Publishing House, 1994), 180.
35. Xu Zhihao, *1911-1949: A Survey of Chinese Art Periodicals* (Shanghai: Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Publishing House, 1994), 162-164.
36. This number is based on Xu Zhihao's *1911-1949: A Survey of Chinese Art Periodicals*, 246-267.

Selections from *Arrest of the Orchid (Cases of Magistrate Shi)* by Shen Manyun, published in two volumes, each 10.2 x 13.2 x .6 cm., in 1949.

Right

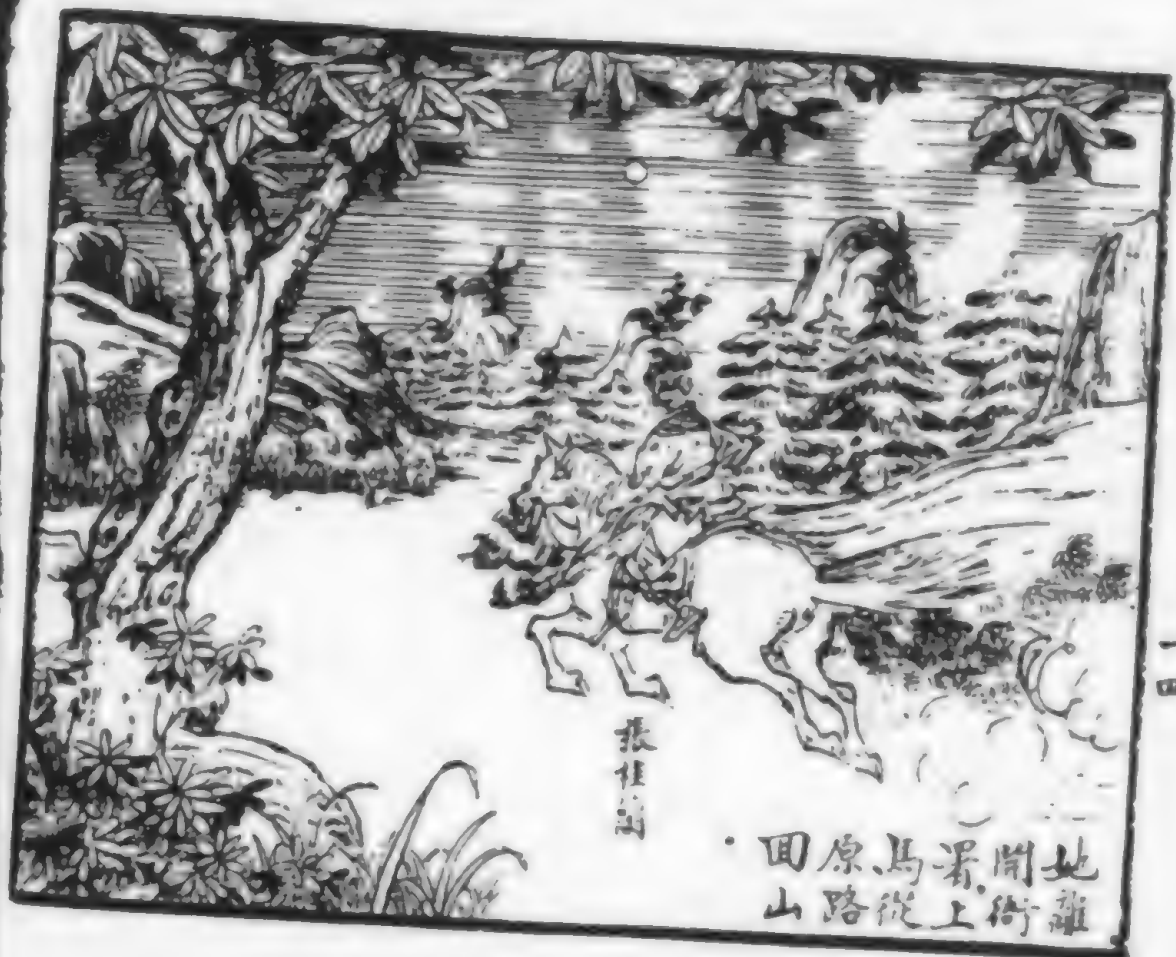
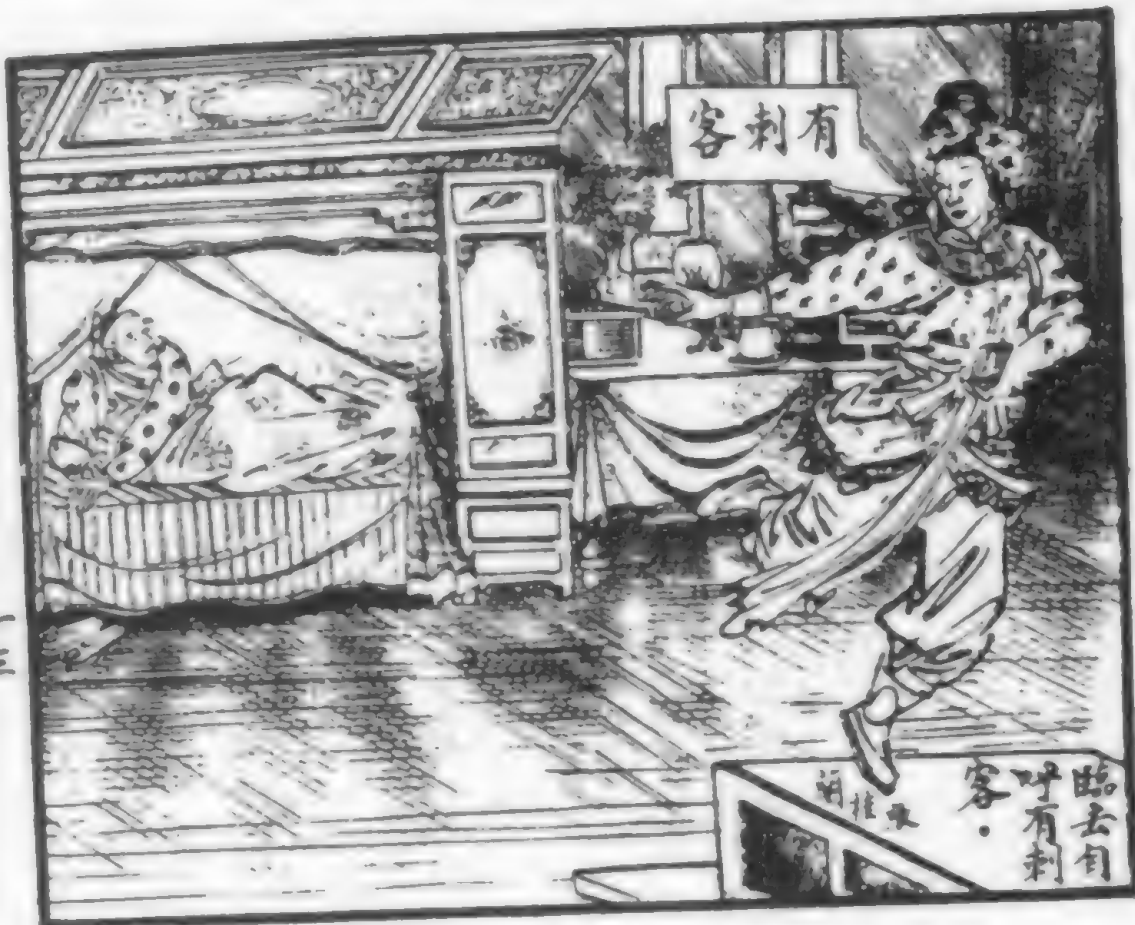
Judge Shi, whose portrait appears at right, instructs his staff to retire after their long journey.

Below

Zhang Guilan leaves a note for the sleeping Judge Shi, and then awakens him by shouting, "Burglar!" as she escapes.

Bottom

Zhang Guilan returns home by her original route; Judge Shi, startled out of sleep, assembles his staff.





Literature in Line: Picture Stories in the People's Republic of China

BY JULIA F. ANDREWS

The term *lianbuanhua*, literally "linked pictures," was coined in Shanghai in the 1920s to describe a form of illustrated story that had been developing in urban China since the introduction of Western printing technology in the late nineteenth century.¹ *Lianbuanhua* books are usually only about three by five inches in size, with one picture to a page, and serve a market similar to that for comic books in the West.

It has been argued that because China has a long tradition of illustration in religious, ethical, historical, dramatic and fictional texts, *lianbuanhua* should be viewed as an ancient Chinese genre. In particular, ink outline (the basic technique of classical Chinese figure painting) and sequential reading (which is required by the traditional handscroll format) provide ancient parallels to modern comics.



(三)鬥爭大會沒壓倒二黑小芹,反使他們明白婚姻是自由的,打算早日訂婚。

A page from the 1950 *lianbuanhua* by Mi Gu, *Young Blacky Gets Married* (*Xiao erhei jiehun*), in which Blacky suggests to his girlfriend that they announce their engagement despite opposition from their parents.

China, where printing was invented, indeed has a significant history of illustration in painted, carved, and, finally, woodcut form that goes back almost two millennia.¹

Lianbuanhua, however, developed in China's modern cities, particularly Shanghai, in a period when Western publications were easily available, and were themselves published using imported printing technology.² Thus, although different in format and theme from most Western comic books, the appearance of *lianbuanhua* was part of the Chinese response to and adoption of new forms of publishing from the West. As such, it was a new urban entertainment, one that joined novel imported elements with traditional Chinese tastes. The thorough integration of modern Western idioms with

popular Chinese concerns make neither name particularly relevant. Intended during the Republican period for the profit of the producers and the transitory pleasure of the consumers, *lianbuanhua*'s hybrid qualities, with links to both China's past and the modern world, capture the flavor of their place and moment of creation.

Major changes in the purpose and production procedures for *lianbuanhua* took place following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. *Lianbuanhua* books of the Republican period (1911-1949) often took their stories from popular dramas, traditional fiction, or contemporary film. Publishers made use of the speed and cheapness of Western printing technology to satisfy the urban market for inexpensive entertainment literature. The little books circulated not only through sales but also in rental stalls that were set up on the Shanghai streets to tempt passersby. Those docu-

menting current runs of successful dramatic productions, as well as those based on movies, were generally rushed to press (sometimes drawn and printed the night of the opening performance for sale the following morning) and were generally sold at prices lower than the cost of a theater ticket.

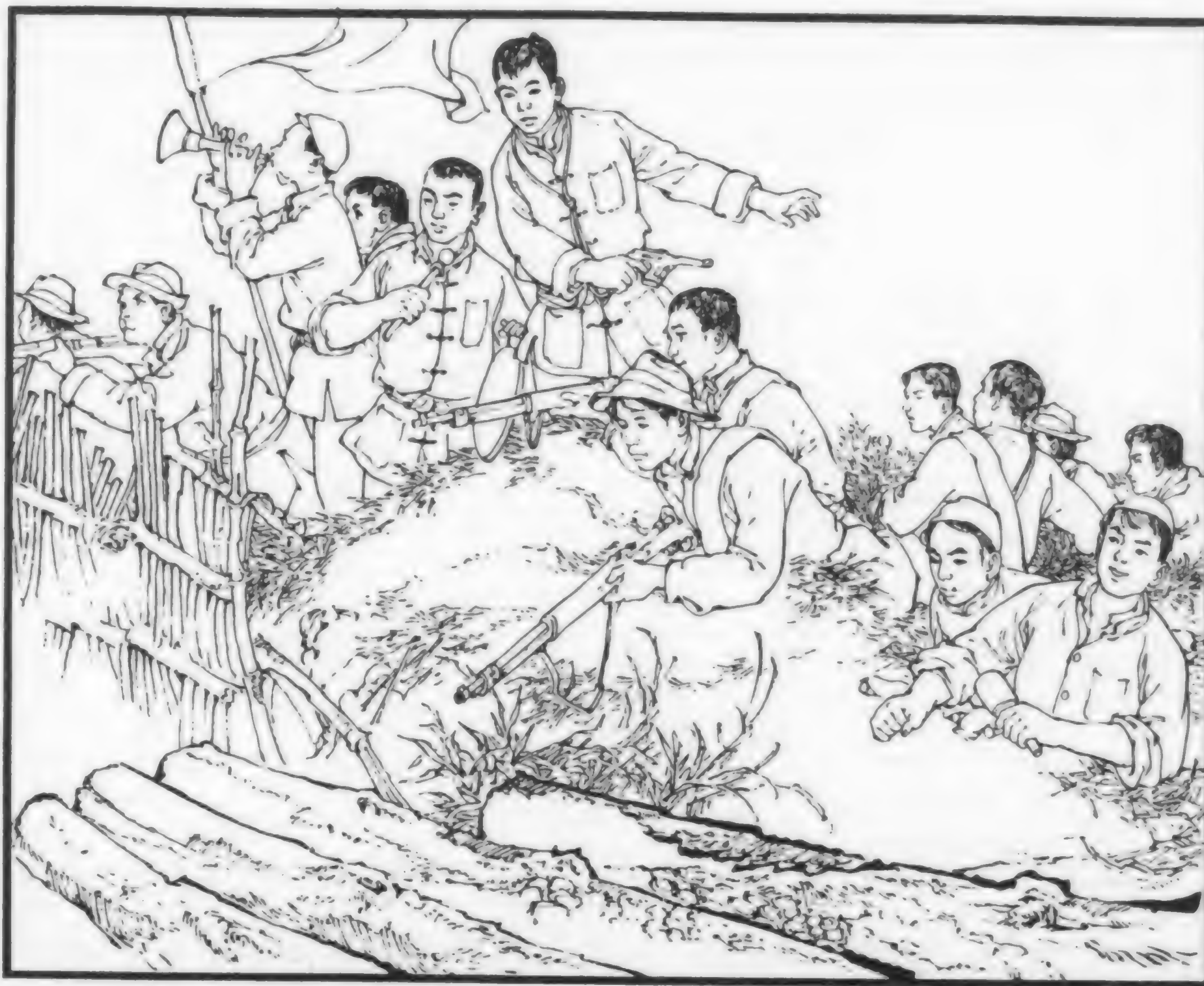
Before 1949, *lianbuanhua* were published both by large publishers and by small fly-by-night printing shops. Artists were usually self-taught or had come into the business as apprentices in a master artist's workshop. Drawings done partially or even completely by apprentices were published under the master's name, and the incomes of master and disciples alike could be uncertain.

A typical example of this genre is Shen Manyun's *Arrest of the Orchid*, a two-booklet set. Published in August of 1949, well after Shanghai came under control of Communist troops but about six weeks before establishment of the People's Republic of China, it continues the format,

style, and content typical of pre-Communist *lianbuanhua*. Characteristic of the appeal of *lianbuanhua* in the period is that the story, which focuses on crime and punishment, is filled with lively action. Further, and typical of good marketing in the period, is that it is billed as one episode of a continuing series entitled "The Cases of Judge Shi."

Shen Manyun, one of the four most famous cartoonists of the 1940s (along with Zhao Hongben, Qian Xiaodai, and Chen Guangyi), was best-known for his *lianbuanhua* based on traditional operatic performances, and the characters in this book are dressed in the stylized headgear and flowing robes of actual stage performers. At the same time, some effort was made to situate the characters in a three-dimensional setting, for which interior scenes are drawn with elements of Western perspective and shading. One particularly amusing example of the artist's interplay of theater and narration occurs when attempts are made to break down the formulaic appearance of the characters through realistic details. The hero, Judge Shi, is awakened in the

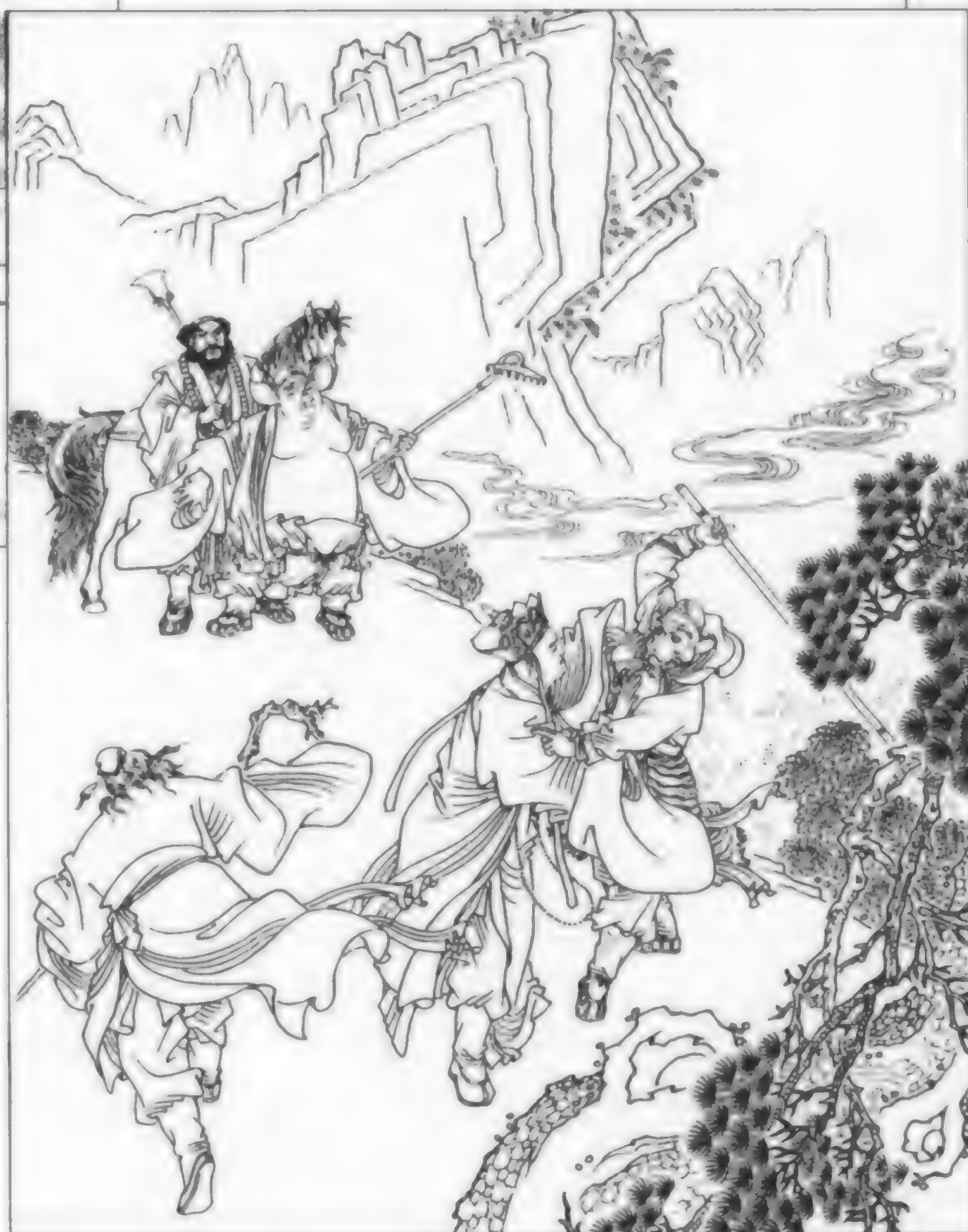
A page from Ding Bingzeng and Han Heping's *Railroad Guerillas* (*Tiedao youjidui*), published 1954-1962.





The first page of Zhao Hongben and Qian Xiaodai's 1962 work, *Monkey Beats the White-boned Demon* (*San da bai gu jing*), in which "The Heavenly-Palace-Disturbing Great Sage of All the Heavens, Monkey, and his fellow Buddhist disciples Pigsy and Sha Monk set out to protect the Tang monk on his pilgrimage to India. With Monkey blazing the trail, the four disciples of the Buddha cross mountains and ford streams, hastening westward."

The Tang monk, deluded by the White-boned Demon's disguise, tries to protect the demon from Monkey's attack.



night with news of the crime. Not yet dressed, he stands near his bed in his bloomers, but is surrounded by his staff, dressed in full operatic regalia.

Lianhuanhua of the 1940s may have balloons for dialogue in the Western manner, but the majority rely on captions written in panels above, below, or inside the pictures. In *Arrest of the Orchid*, Shen Manyun uses several kinds of text: dialogue balloons, identifying labels for the characters, and short passages of text in cartouches at the bottom of the page that describe the action. The books read from right to left, with the spine at right, and the text cartouches, even those that are arranged in horizontal panels, also read as traditional vertical columns.

As early as the 1930s, both the intrinsic interest and the didactic potential of this immensely popular form of entertainment had been recognized by leftist intellectuals, including the influential writer and editor Lu Xun who lamented the decline of China's age-old art of woodblock printing. Among his

efforts to revive illustration was his involvement in publishing Chinese reprints of European modernist woodcut illustrations, including narrative series by Kaethe Kollwitz and Frans Masereel. Although these European prints had little in common with Chinese



The white-boned demon, disguised as an old lady, scolds Pigsy.

lianhuanhua beyond using monochromatic images to tell a story, Lu Xun called them *lianhuan tubua*. He presumably sought to expand the potential connections between a cosmopolitan modern art and China's own popular culture. Young artists inspired

by Lu Xun's work began making woodblock print series that were conceived in an essentially European avant-garde manner, but told Chinese stories. These have also been called *lianhuanhua*.

There is little evidence that commercial *lian-*

buanhua, which had a large audience, was affected by the avant-garde *lianbuanhua* woodcuts of the leftists, which were printed in small editions and received relatively little exposure. During the Anti-Japanese War, which began in 1937, many of the urban artists went to work as propagandists among the north Chinese peasantry, and some remained in the countryside for a full decade. At the Communist base in Yan'an, particularly following Mao Zedong's 1942 talks on art and literary policy, it was decided to largely abandon the European manner favored in the previous decade. Instead of making pictures that were often bleak and dark, leftist artists now pursued a clearly readable and relatively up-beat manner of presentation that would appeal to illiterate peasants.⁴ The result was an emphasis on outline drawing and simple settings, and an image that often appears somewhat naive.

The programmatic reform of popular culture represented by the *lianbuanhua* artists and publishers, especially in the 1950s and early 1960s, is a complicated phenomenon.⁵ On the one side is a set of circumstances that seem largely negative. The Shanghai art world, China's artistic hub during the first half of the twentieth century, was all but decimated by the Communist take-over. Efforts to transform the economy destroyed the domestic art market, which was predicated upon a financially secure class of private art patrons. With the disappearance of their clients, many professional painters were left unable to make a living. Next a policy of reforming Shanghai's decadent culture and centralizing administration on the Soviet model led to transfer of Shanghai's art schools, which historically were among the most influential in the nation, out of the city. The alternative of teaching art as a livelihood was thus closed to Shanghai artists. Artists were left with the options of relocating or retraining.

The publishing industry, which even in Republican Shanghai supported many artists with its need for various kinds of commercial art, stepped in to fill the void. From the early 1950s until today, a huge segment of Shanghai's art world has been employed in publishing. This concentration of talent was one precondition for the rapid development of *lianbuanhua* in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1950, cadres from the New Fourth Army were sent to work as supervisors in the Shanghai publishing industry, with *lianbuanhua* as a particular focus of their attention. Some of the new Communist art authorities came from the working class Shanghai families who were *lianbuanhua*'s primary consumers. Others were admirers of Lu Xun. As part of the Communist effort to wipe out vice, most notably drugs, prostitution, and organized crime, the new



Mid-seventeenth century woodcut drinking cards: two leaves from Chen Hongshou's *Leaves of Antiquity*. Collection of Wango Weng, Lyme, New Hampshire.

cultural leaders tried to eradicate the supply of violent, pornographic, or superstitious comics that were said to have dominated the pre-liberation market. At first, effort was put primarily into censorship of new publications and regulating the stock of older books still on the market. Following the Yan'an model, the new regime sought to establish a positive alternative, one that would inculcate the values of new China while continuing to entertain the readership of *lianbuanhua*.

In spite of the many practical difficulties presented by the implementation of Communism, many artists and intellectuals greeted the reunification of



China under a seemingly incorrupt government with enthusiasm in 1949, and devoted serious and idealistically motivated efforts to achieving the new society promised by the revolution. The new socialist art, even at its most turgidly didactic, was not produced by faceless cogs in the Communist machinery, but, for the most part, by enthusiastic young artists. Some *lianbuanhua* artists who came out of workshop apprenticeships viewed themselves as the exploited workers the Communists aimed to assist. And, like all citizens of the People's Republic of China, these artists underwent thought reform and ideological indoctrination, a process from which many emerged with sincere intentions and the idea of improving society through art.

An early revolutionary work, Mi Gu's *Young*

Blacky Gets Married (*Xiaoerbei jiehun*), is the product of such an effort.⁶ The pictures and the text adaptation, based on a novel written in the Communist base area during the war, are by the artist himself.⁷ Mi Gu, who had attended but not graduated from two of China's most prestigious art schools, the Hangzhou National Art Academy and the Shanghai Art Academy, was an aspiring cartoonist in Shanghai when the Japanese invaded. In 1938, at the age of twenty, he moved to the Communist base in Yan'an where he did propaganda drawing for the war effort and received training in the new arts policies. In 1942 he transferred to the New Fourth Army, active in his native Jiangsu-Zhejiang area, and he subsequently published a number of anti-Nationalist cartoons in Shanghai periodicals. After 1949, still in his early thirties, he became an editor and party art official in Shanghai. The year he drew *Young Blacky*, he became founding editor of *Cartoon Magazine*.⁸

A notable feature of *Young Blacky Gets Married*, which promotes love marriages rather than parental arrangements, is the artist's adherence to the principles established under Mao Zedong's direction in Yan'an. Mi Gu thus avoided the Western-style drawing with shading and chiaroscuro that appealed to urban readers and worked instead in ink outline with a minimum of shadow. From an aesthetic viewpoint, Mi Gu's folkly naiveté may not be entirely successful, but its weaknesses were undoubtedly instructive to other *lianbuanhua* artists. In Shanghai at least, the relatively crude Yan'an manner was soon abandoned in favor of greater professionalism.

One important change that was soon institutionalized was to relieve artists of responsibility for writing the texts. The result was that the artist was sometimes simply presented with a set of captions for which pictures were to be supplied. This was an attempt to professionalize both writing and drawing, potentially raising the qualitative level of each. At the same time, it may have made state control of the textual content more efficient.

The Communist cultural and economic program required a complete reorganization of the Shanghai art world, including absorbing *lianbuanhua* artists from the old workshops and private publishers into studios run by major publishing houses. The government's commitment to developing *lianbuanhua*, which was seen as an art for and by the people, is of particular importance in this context. With the restructuring of the publishing industry, unprecedented resources were dedicated to developing talent among *lianbuanhua* artists.

The administrators of the fledgling art bureaucracy considered most *lianbuanhua* artists poorly





Opposite page and above
Three pages from He Youzhi's, *Great Change in a Mountain Village* (*Shanxiang jubian*), published in 1962.

trained in drawing techniques. The Shanghai Cultural Bureau sponsored special classes for artists in 1951 and 1952 to retrain them to produce higher quality *lianbuanhua*. Two or three hundred artists, including old comic books artists, young art enthusiasts, and painters in other media who found themselves unable to market their art, were recruited for retraining in drawing and Communist ideology. The addition of art school graduates and other professional painters to the ranks of the cartoon artists substantially strengthened the talent pool. In 1952, the Shanghai publishers were reorganized into two large presses, the state-run East China People's Art Press (renamed Shanghai People's Art Publishing House in 1954) and the New Art Press, which absorbed the artists of many private *lianbuanhua* publishers. The *lianbuanhua* section of the former was headed by Gu Bingxin, an instructor in the

1952 art classes, and Cheng Shifa, a Shanghai Art Academy graduate who was retrained there. Well-trained art school graduates, including Ding Bingzeng and Han Heping, as well as some workshop-trained or self-taught cartoonists such as He Youzhi, were assigned to the state press; many older artists worked for the quasi-private New Art Press, where the famous Zhao Hongben directed the *lianbuanhua* section. Zhao, it turned out, was not only an excellent illustrator, but also an underground party member.

The fruits of the re-education and reorganization efforts began to appear in the mid-1950s. One of the most beautifully drafted of the new *lianbuanhua*, *Railroad Guerillas* (*Tiedao youjidui*) was the creation of Ding Bingzeng and Han Heping, both 1952 graduates of the East China campus of the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Hangzhou. Based on the novel by Liu Zhijia, the ten volume work with more than a thousand drawings was completed between 1954 and 1962. The refined drawing and

lively postures make clear that the artists were masters of academic drawing.

Set in southern Shandong during the Anti-Japanese War (between 1938 and 1945), the work tells the story of coal miners and railway workers who joined forces under the direction of the Communist Party to fight a guerrilla war against the Japanese along the Lin-Zao Railway Line. Work on this influential *lianbuanhua* began less than a decade after the Japanese surrender, during the highly nationalistic first five years of the People's Republic of China. It creates heroic working-class Chinese characters, while at the same time demonizing the Japanese enemy of the occupation years.

The dramatic drawing and action-filled story was immensely popular in the decades following its first release. It has been reprinted at least thirty-seven times with almost four million copies in print. Its popularity may have to do with its military subject matter, in particular its vivid action and violence. From a purely artistic and technical point of view,

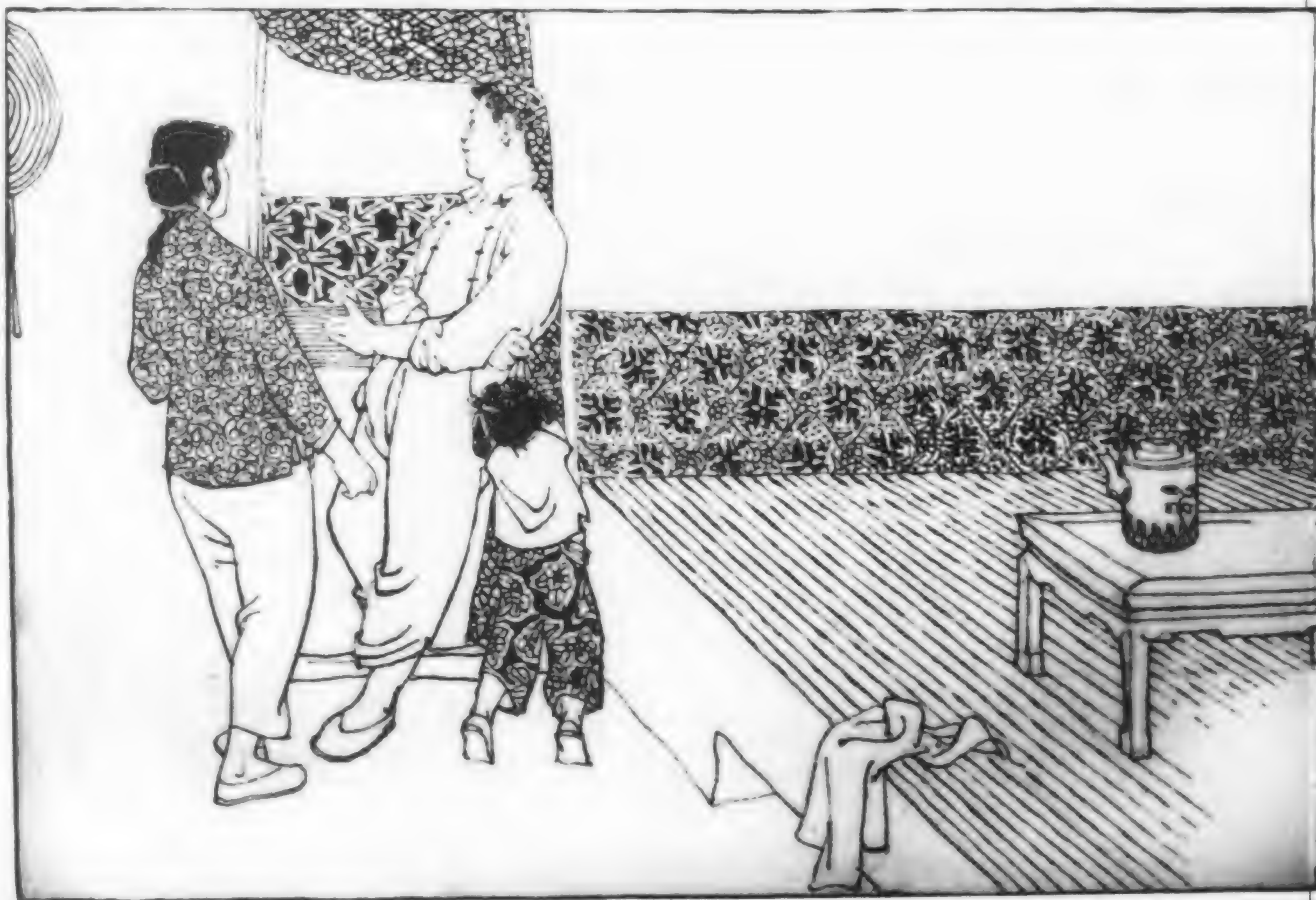
Railroad Guerrillas was admired as a watershed in the development of Shanghai *lianbuanhua*. Beautifully drawn in outline, it brings the best of academic figure drawing and, to some extent, heroic socialist realist imagery, into the cartoon genre.

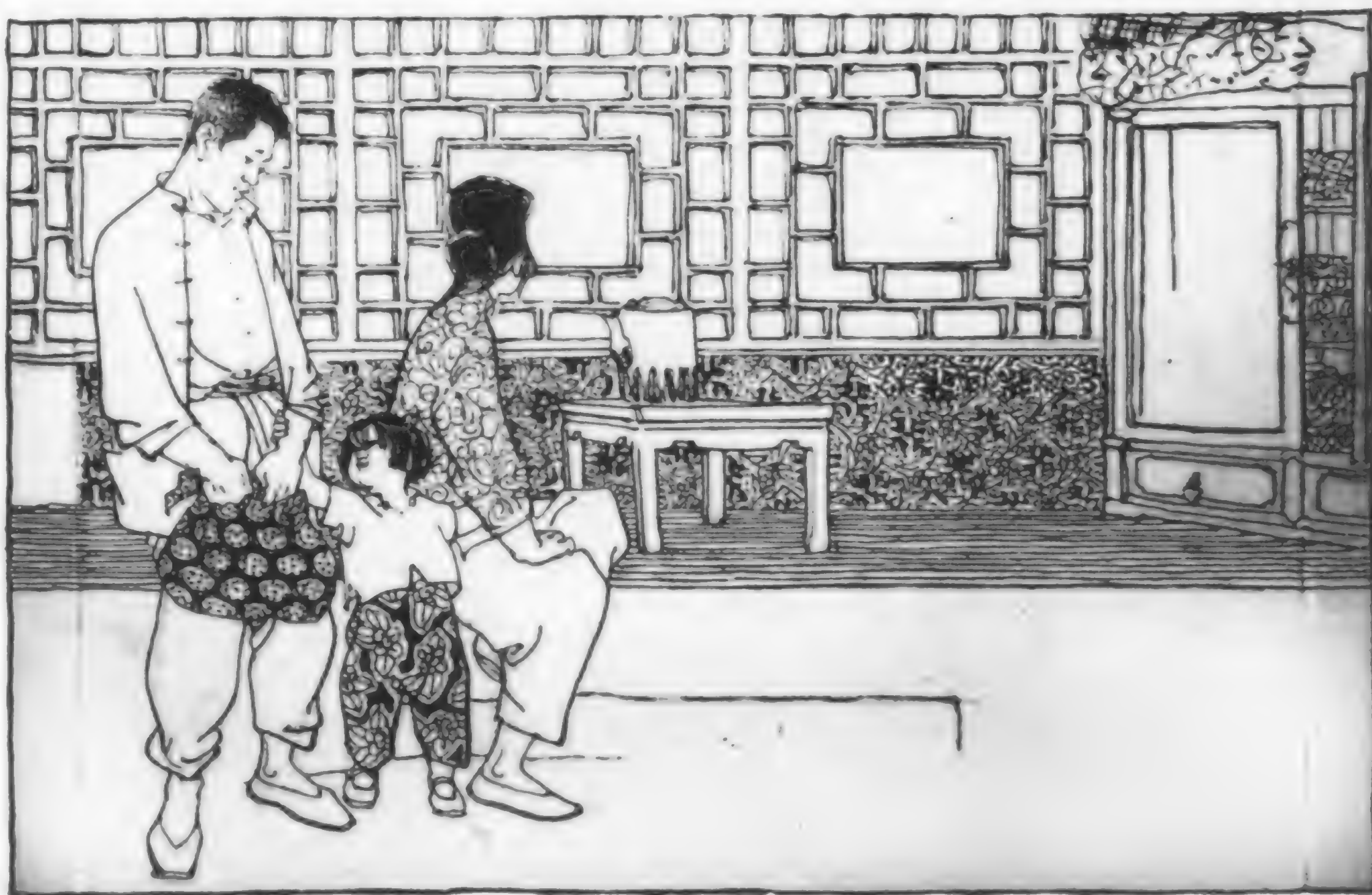
The artists effectively limit any use of shading or chiaroscuro, thus creating a more Chinese flavor as well as a very clean image. Furthermore, they adopt conventions of traditional illustration, but combine them remarkably effectively with realistic drawing. These include a sharply tilted ground plane, broad expanses of white paper which contrast with heavily patterned areas, interior scenes in which all but essential details of the walls and floors are left blank, screen-like use of foreground rocks to define an outdoor setting, and a broad but varied brush rendering of rocks and grasses that have the feel of a traditional woodcut.

Some of these elements, particularly those for rendering landscape, may be found in commercial *lianbuanhua* of the 1940s. A similar clean, linear quality, particularly in the settings, may be found in some propaganda art from Yanan. Nevertheless, the

Below and opposite page

Three pages from He Youzhi's *Li Shuangshuang*, 1962.





combination of extremely fine drawing and realistic figure rendering displays an unprecedented mastery and synthesis of several aesthetic standards. A comparison of this work with Mi Gu's cruder attempt of half a decade earlier makes clear the remarkable innovations of these young artists.

At the beginning of 1956, nationalization of Shanghai's publishing industry was complete. New Art Press was merged into Shanghai People's Art Publishing House, which over the years commissioned many of China's most successful *lianbuanhua*. Artists Zhao Hongben and Gu Bingxin then became co-directors of the expanded *lianbuanhua* studio. One could argue that the decade between 1956 and 1966 was the heyday of Shanghai's new *lianbuanhua*.

Zhao Hongben, one of the four most famous Shanghai *lianbuanhua* artists of the pre-1949 period, was known for his "modern costume" *lianbuanhua*. Artists in the pre-1949 era and, to a lesser extent in the 1950s, tended to specialize in "modern costume stories" or, like Shen Manyun, "antique costume stories." His most famous post-1949 work, a collaboration with the equally famous Qian Xiaodai, was completed in about 1962. *Monkey Beats the White-boned Demon* is typical of the revival of traditional Chinese subject matter that characterized the nationalistic cultural policies of the period between the Anti-Rightist Campaign of 1957 and the Cultural Revolution of 1966, a period that included a diplomatic break with the Soviet Union. This work, with its simplified settings, linear rock and tree contours, and stylized drapery folds, evokes traditional prints. But the characters are three-dimensional and heroic, betokening a knowledge of both socialist realism and Western superhero comics. *Monkey Beats the White-boned Demon*, with its convincing characterizations, voluminous quality, and marvelous contrasts of blank paper and complex linear details, fully modernizes the "ancient costume" manner of drawing *lianbuanhua*.

Both Zhao Hongben and his colleague Gu Bingxin became extremely interested in seventeenth century woodblock prints in the course of their efforts to raise the quality of Shanghai *lianbuanhua*. They particularly admired the work of the mid-seventeenth century eccentric painter Chen Hongshou, whose elegant sense of pattern, expressive use of exaggerated draperies, and exquisite manipulation of setting clearly inspired many illustrators of the period.

These virtues, as well as traditional ways of rendering trees and rocks, may be seen in the masterpiece by Zhao and Qian, which nevertheless is a completely modern work. Almost no shading is used, in a self-consciously archaistic manner. Instead, volumes and textures are described by

lines of various widths, shapes, and densities. Some of them may be identified with techniques from classical Chinese painting, such as the "nail-head rat-tail" stroke for drapery folds or the "trembling brush" outline found on some rocks.

The repeating drapery folds that delineate the gown of the White-boned Demon (disguised here as an old lady) is a convention probably taken from Chen Hongshou's prints. They serve not only to model her form, but also to intensify her act of aggression against Pigsy with their sense of motion and sheer density. This ominous quality is accentuated by the gnarled cypress tree across the front of the picture. While the appearance of the tree comes from traditional sources, the dramatic composition, and especially the radical diminution in scale of the Tang monk, are almost cinematic.

Adapting elements from an antique manner to render the mythological Monkey as a superhero was an extremely influential achievement in its time. The characterizations that Zhao and Qian developed for Monkey and his friends have assumed almost iconic status in Chinese popular culture, cropping up like a Chinese Mickey Mouse on all forms of consumer items even today.

A pair of *lianbuanhua* produced in the same studios in 1962 explore some of the same technical and aesthetic possibilities from a completely different point of view. *Great Change in a Mountain Village* and *Li Shuangshuang* are both based on modern stories of somewhat propagandistic themes. He Youzhi, one of the talented self-taught artists to emerge from the *lianbuanhua* classes of the early 1950s, is a keen observer of human nature with a remarkable flair for characterization.

Great Change, based on a novel by Zhou Libo, ostensibly describes the success of China's collectivization movement in the early 1950s. The story takes place in an isolated village in the southern province of Hunan in 1955, during the height of China's movement to collectivize agriculture. It recounts the experiences of its peasant characters in the midst of the tidal wave of change required by the movement. The Communist Party swept into every aspect of life, transforming not only the foundations of the rural economy, but also social customs, family life, attitudes toward romantic love, relationships between people, and the very nature of the village itself. The text itself is somewhat turgid, but this *lianbuanhua* owes its high reputation in the Chinese art world to the five hundred poignant drawings that more than compensate for the weakness of the story's plot. The psychological insights the artist He Youzhi has conveyed by the appearances and interactions of his characters make completely plausible



A page from Hua Sanchuan's *White haired Girl* (*Baimaonü*), 1963.

the struggles undergone by people required to suddenly change their entire way of life.

The artist was sent by the Shanghai People's Art Publishing House to study village life in the area in which the story takes place. The authentic flavor he conveys by his details of gesture, facial expression, dress, architecture, furniture, and so forth, are presumably the result of his careful field work. He Youzhi's drawings are remarkable in integrating the same clean overall appearance and textural contrasts that we have traced to antique woodcuts into a realistically rendered modern story. His colleagues at the press marvelled at the extraordinary variety with which he managed to imbue the endless party meetings required by the plot. One of the most telling is a study of the rustic floor and varied footwear of the meeting's somewhat bored participants.

The same style of drawing and composition may be found in *Li Shuangshuang*, a feminist story about the life and changing relationship of a young peasant couple in the period following the communization of the countryside. The wife, Li Shuangshuang, is hard-working, bold, and opinionated. Her husband, Sun Xiwang, is depicted as clever in small ways,

but short-sighted. When Li Shuangshuang becomes active in party affairs, spending time helping improve her village, her husband first quarrels with her and then leaves her and their small daughter. In the end, he sees the error of his ways and returns.

As in *Great Change in a Mountain Village*, He Youzhi's brilliant characterizations make up for the rigidly propagandistic text. This *lianbuanhua* is based on a film of the same title, and its characters are dressed in essentially the same fashion as the film actors. If anything, however, the artist's freedom from the practical constraints of film-making allowed him to explore human relations in a way not completely possible in the movie studio. He Youzhi is particularly gifted at selecting a minor element of the scene, such as the arguing couple's small child, or the departing husband's bundle of clothes, and using it as a focus for the intense emotion of the scene.

In 1963, the Chinese Ministry of Culture somewhat belatedly took note of the accomplishments of *lianbuanhua* artists by awarding six first-class prizes to work made between 1949 and 1963. Three of the prizes went to *Railroad Guerillas*, *Monkey Beats the White-boned Demon*, and *Great Change in a Mountain Village*. *Li Shuangshuang* was awarded

a third-class prize.

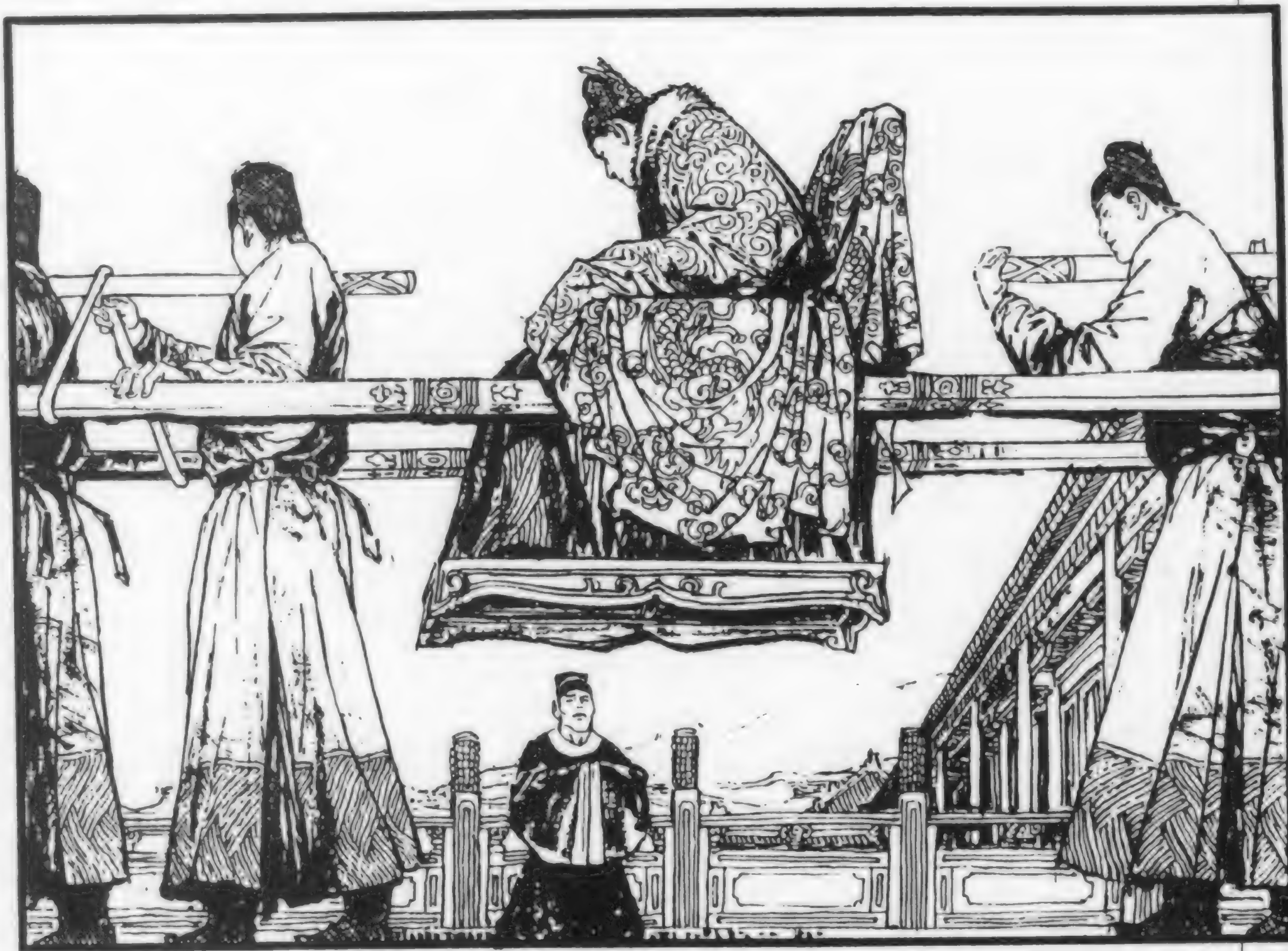
The linear style of *lianbuanhua* typified by the preceding examples became standard for the period. Hua Shanchuan's 1963 rendering of *White-haired Girl*, another *lianbuanhua* based on a film of the same title, is a technically refined example of the same manner.⁹ Truly innovative, combining the best of old and new, this linear *lianbuanhua* style had other qualities suitable to its time. Elegant and complete with no need for color, the low cost of printing linear *lianbuanhua* was a great advantage, both ideologically and practically, during the economic collapse following the disastrous Great Leap Forward of 1958.

The closing of most publishing houses during the Cultural Revolution, beginning in late 1966 or early 1967, radically reduced the number of *lianbuanhua* that were produced. After the death of Mao Zedong a decade later, the publishing industry began reorganizing. In addition to returning the exiled older artists to work, young draftsmen were added to the *lianbuanhua* studios. By the end of the decade, they were meeting a seemingly insatiable demand for popular entertainment. Although one may identify didactic or moral messages in many of these publications, such content was extremely subtle compared to the bludgeoning propaganda that dominated reading matter of the previous decade.

Lianbuanhua production following the death of Mao was dominated by a new generation of artists, one born at about the time the new regime

Below and opposite page

Qing Troops Enter the Pass (Qingbing rusai) by Shi Dawei, Luo Xixian, Wang Yiqiu, Xu Youwu, and Cui Junpei, published in 1978.



上海人民美术出版社连环画专用稿纸

was founded in 1949, largely educated before the Cultural Revolution, and reaching maturity during the tumultuous years of the Cultural Revolution. They brought to their art very different qualities than their elders. Most were self-taught under extremely difficult circumstances, and the styles they developed following 1976 tended to be more diverse than the well-established manner of their elders. Some artists, such as Shi Dawei, excelled at Western drawing and had no compunction about using heavy black ink. Others, like Lu Fusheng, mastered traditional outline and color painting and produced elegant archaistic works that emulated Song dynasty court painting.

During the Cultural Revolution, attempts were made to stamp out the supposedly selfish notion of seeking recognition for artistic achievement. Many works were published anonymously. In other cases,

collaboration was required, so that any credit might go to the team, and any individualistic excesses might be stamped out. *Qing Troops Enter the Pass* of 1978 is a typical late example of the practice of collaboration, but in a transitional form, whereby innovation is emphasized, but credit is shared. After the rise to power in 1979 of Deng Xiaoping, who generally downplayed the importance of art to the nation, such rigid controls on the artistic process were gradually abandoned.

Many of the best *lianbuanhua* of this period were designed by young men who had spent their adolescences laboring on collective farms or in factories. In spite of the xenophobic rhetoric of the Cultural Revolution period, the emphasis on propaganda painting led to a generation of young people who were thoroughly trained in Western drawing. Shanghai



People's Art Publishing House, for example, hired a group of young *lianbuanhua* artists who had established their reputations during the Cultural Revolution as factory worker-artists. In the case of *Qing Troops Enter the Pass*, the twenty-eight year old Shi Dawei collaborated with three fellows recently transferred from Shanghai factories and with the well-known older staff artist Wang Yiqiu. This dramatic work, based on a novel about the collapse of the Ming dynasty, is one of the best examples of the period.

Lu Fusheng, the creator of *Phoenix Hairpin*, represents a different kind of artist to emerge during the early post-Mao period. *Lianbuanhua* were so profitable that Shanghai People's Art Publishing House, like other art presses, actively recruited submissions from artists not on staff. Lu Fusheng was a recent graduate of the Chinese painting department of the Zhejiang Academy of Fine Arts in Hangzhou, the same institution that had trained Ding Bingzeng and Han Heping thirty years earlier. He completed this series two years after receiving his graduate degree. The 1984 publication won first prize in the National Art Exhibition of the same year. Painted in ink and color on silk, this set of illustrations clearly required much more sophisticated and expensive printing than the line drawings that dominated the 1950s and 1960s.

The period between *Qing Troops* and *Phoenix Hairpin*, roughly 1978 to 1984, marked a second qualitative high point in P.R.C. *lianbuanhua*. The little booklets were so popular with readers that they became extraordinarily profitable for the publishing houses, which in turn attracted first rate artistic talent with the high fees and instant fame they could offer their artists. For reasons that were not understood in the publishing world at the time, but may be related to the sudden and widespread availability of television sets and video cassette recorders in China, the market for *lianbuanhua* crashed in 1986 and 1987, and has never regained its previous level. Most artists have consequently moved on to other work, either making fine art paintings, teaching art, or administering newly profitable productions of the publishing house, such as decorative calendars.¹⁰

The golden age of P.R.C. *lianbuanhua* may be over, but its occurrence at all is a remarkable phenomenon. The field of *lianbuanhua* may serve as an example of the unpredictable results of trying to engineer the art world. In spite of a host of highly destructive art policies, including relocation of artists, closing of art schools, regulation of commerce that effectively abolished the domestic art market, and censorship of contents and styles, *lianbuanhua* drawing reached unprecedented qualitative levels in the 1950s and 1960s. On the positive side, the Shanghai publishers and the Communist

party provided greater support for travel, study, and contemplation than most artists had ever seen before as well as professional and financial rewards for good work. In spite of the institutional constraints on art in China, the conjunction of human talent, motivation, and opportunity in the Shanghai publishing industry in the 1950s and 1960s yielded superbly designed and drafted *lianbuanhua*.

Lu Xun, in a typically flamboyant comment, wrote in the 1930s that there was no reason the field of *lianbuanhua* could not produce a Michelangelo.¹¹ It is difficult to imagine how the Michelangelo of *lianbuanhua* might look, but I expect that he might be found in this group, which represents the best work of the best period of *lianbuanhua*, and whose artists sought to make the dreams of a new culture come true. ●

NOTES

1. For further background on pre-1949 *lianbuanhua*, see Kuiyi Shen's article in this issue. Many ideas in the introductory portions of my essay were developed as part of our collaboration on the exhibition, *Literature in Line*, co-curated by Prof. Shen.

2. This now orthodox interpretation is best exemplified in A Ying, *Zhongguo lianbuan tubua shihua* (Beijing: People's Art Publishing House, 1957, 2nd ed. 1984).

3. A Ying dates the first use of the term *lianbuan tubua* to a 1925 World Book Company publication. See A Ying, *Zhongguo lianbuan tubua shihua*, 21. Lu Xun wrote in 1933, "The term lian huan tubua is now already somewhat familiar, so need not be revised . . ." Lu Xun, "Yigeren de shounan, xu" (Preface to Frans Masereel's *Die Passion eines Mannes*) (Chinese reprint) (Shanghai: Liangyou Book Company, 1933) reprinted in Jiang Weipu, ed. *Lu Xun lun lianbuanhua* (Beijing: People's Art Press, 1982, rev. of 1956 ed.): 18.

4. This process has been described by Ellen Johnston Laing in *The Winking Owl* (Berkeley: University of California Press): 15, and Shirley Sun, *Modern Chinese Woodcuts* (San Francisco: Chinese Culture Foundation, 1979).

5. Some aspects of this were described in my *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994): 128-134, 246-251.

6. I am indebted to the Shanghai People's Art Press for plot summaries of the post-1949 *lianbuanhua* discussed in this article. Material presented in lectures at Ohio State University by Xiaomei Chen (8 May, 1997) and Kirk Denton (29 May, 1997) was also invaluable.

7. Rustic characters in *lianbuanhua* are often named according to the most prominent feature of their appearance or behavior, such as Dummy, Fatty, or, in this case, the swarthy Blacky.

8. *Zhongguo meishu nianjian*, (Shanghai, 1948): 374.

9. This tale is ostensibly based on a real story that took place in the 1940s. Performed as a play at the Communist base in Yan'an, and many times thereafter, the story was adapted as a movie in the early 1960s. The *lianbuanhua* was based upon the film script. Later, during the Cultural Revolution, the story was made into one of the eight model operas.

10. Oral communication from Kuiyi Shen, 12 June 1997.

11. Lu Xun, "Lun di san zhong ren (On the third type of person)" in *Lu Xun Lun Lianbuanhua* (Lu Xun on Lianbuanhua), ed. Jiang Weipu. Beijing: People's Art Publishers, 1982: 33.

resources

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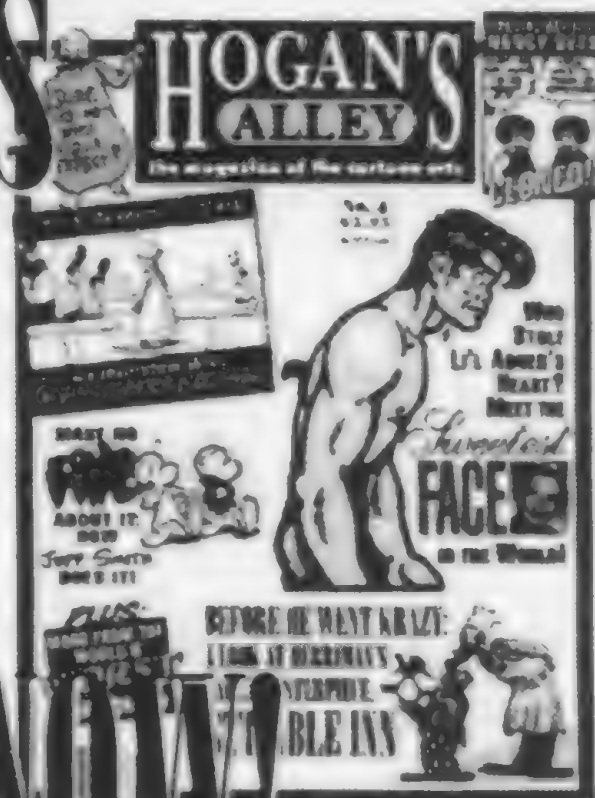
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book reviews

Dreamland Japan: Writings on Modern Manga

by Frederik L. Schodt

Reviewed by John A. Lent

Japanese comics (manga) and animation (anime) have left a mark on American culture, entertaining children and adults with translated books and television fare; providing *otaku* (fans) with reasons to network through scores of fanzines, clubs, and conferences; and stimulating many cartoonists with their unique genres, formats, contents, and styles. The hugeness of manga, both in terms of format (hundreds of pages) and circulation (1.9 billion in 1995), as well as their varied and often unusual uses, have been sources of amazement to Americans knowledgeable about them.

Among those who have made manga known outside Japan, no name is more prominent than that of Frederik L. Schodt. With his 1983 book *Manga! Manga! The World of Japanese Comics*, Schodt introduced his readers to every aspect of manga—their history, social and economic impacts, creators, audiences, and distinctive traits. Because it was the first book in English on the subject, and because of Schodt's careful and thorough research and easy writing style, *Manga! Manga!* has been the place to go for information about Japanese comics.

Dreamland Japan: Writings on Modern Manga is a sequel to that book, not an update; not a revision;

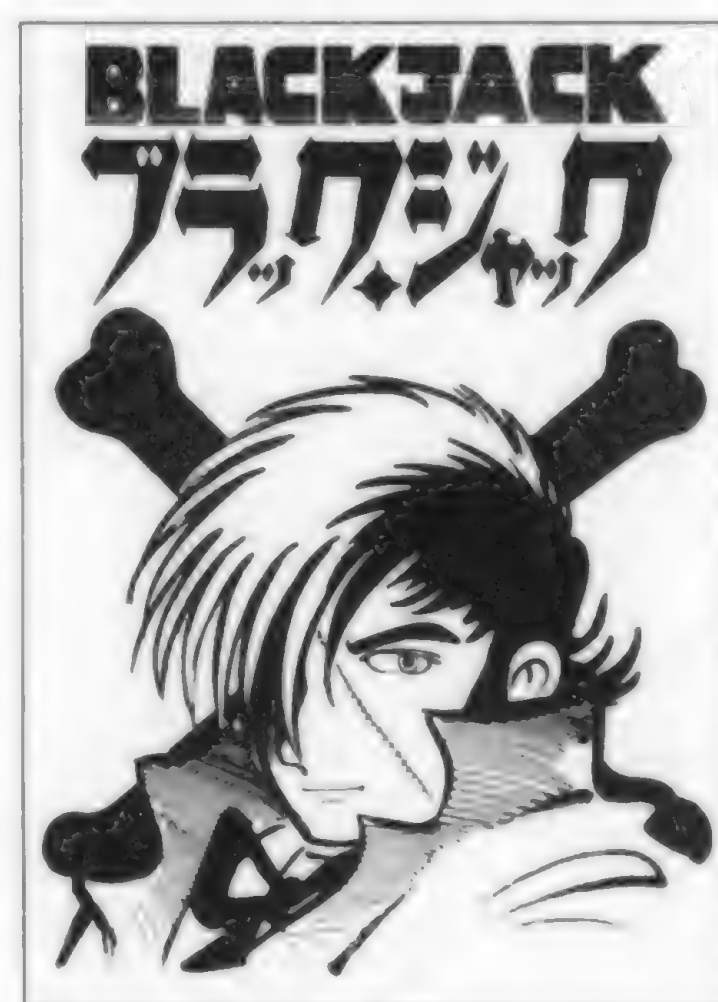
not volume two. It is a different type of book, both in content and in format. To compare it to *Manga! Manga!*, as at least one reviewer did, would be unfair. Schodt himself states that *Dreamland Japan* "builds upon and occasionally references the earlier work, but it isn't necessary to have seen the original to enjoy it . . ." (12). He calls his book "a sort of 'Whitman Sampler' of commentary and criticism," capable of being read in small parts or wholly at one sitting. All of this is in the preface (which many readers and reviewers skip) and must be understood from the outset.

With that caveat out of the way, what about *Dreamland Japan*? What kind of book is it? What does it cover? Does it enhance our knowledge of manga?

Dreamland Japan is a storehouse of new industry data, fascinating profiles of cartoonists, and intriguing stories about genres, titles, audiences, and possible impact. It is written in Schodt's personal, almost conversational style, blended with snippets of humor (some self-deprecating) and subtle sarcasm. Schodt wrote the book that way, intending it to be for the general public. Though it is not in academese, *Dreamland Japan* should be understood and appreciated by the academic community as well.

Because Schodt has a journalist's "nose for news," he sniffs out stories

with interesting (even bizarre) angles and intriguing (and also bizarre) characters. For example, among the twenty profiles of manga artists are those of Akira Narita, who draws humorous and confessional stories based on his experiences providing sex to women (more than four hundred so far) who contact him through *terekura* (telephone clubs); Shungicu Uchida, who openly discusses taboo subjects from a personal perspective, including her birthing experience;



Frontispiece illustration to the Shnen Champion Comics paperback edition of Osamu Tezuka's *Black Jack*.

King Terry, a bad-good artist, whose works at first sight seem bad, but at closer inspection, look good; Yoshikazu Ebisu, the prince of "ultra-nonsense" comics; and Murasaki Yamada, who has worked on making girls' comics (*shojo*) more realistic (no more orb-like, star-filled eyes). Masters, such as Osamu Tezuka, Yoshiharu Tsuge, and Fujiko Fujio, are treated at length. In fact, Tezuka is given an entire chapter. Schodt knew Tezuka well, and the chapter is full of personal information, plot synopses, and critical appraisals of some of his most famous series.

Vignettes of genres and specific magazines or stories are equally engrossing and have the effect of telling the whole story of manga through morsels. And what morsels they are because of the strange (to outsiders) types of manga! Among them are *Yan Mama*, for young mothers about to launch into that stressful ordeal of debuting their newborns to other mothers in the community park; *June*, named after a manga drawn for female readers but exclusively featuring stories of love between males; *redikomi* (women's manga), very different from *shojo* in that they have racy stories; "H" manga, standing for *hentai*, for perverted or abnormal sex; and the game comics, devoted to topics such as mah jong or *pachinko* (slightly like a vertical pinball machine). Other manga highlighted are *Criminal Defense Stories*, a good way to learn about Japan's legal system with its stories about divorce proceedings, automobile accidents, wills, or renting houses; *Tomoi*, a series about gays and AIDS created by artist Wakuni Akisato; *Go-sen*, a series of essays in manga format that serve as a platform for the political views of its cartoonist, Yoshinori Kobayashi; *Combat Comic*, the sole war comics magazine, started in 1985; and *AUM Cult*, featuring stories about the group that supposedly planted nerve gas in Tokyo subways. The long-lived standard manga are also described, titles such as *Weekly Boys Jump* (with an average weekly circulation between five and six million), *Doraemon*, and *Garô*.

For the most part, however, the individuals and manga in *Dreamland Japan* made their mark in the past decade or so, and that is one of the reasons this book is very different from its predecessor. Besides much of the aforementioned, also new are discussions of fascism in manga, the *djinsbi* (fanzine) craze, manga-anime links, manga artists as film directors, manga-novel crossovers, information manga, manga and computers, and manga in the English-speaking world—a whole chapter that hones in on Asia, Europe, and the United States.

Schodt continues an important discussion started in *Manga! Manga!* concerning regulation. Where he previously linked regulation and fantasy, in *Dreamland Japan* he calls the section "Freedom of Speech vs. Regulation." What he presents there about anti-comics campaigns by parents and others and the reactions of the cartooning community is enlight-

ening. The only problem is that he does not tell us more. A preceding section asks if manga are dangerous. Schodt shows conflicting viewpoints and remains somewhat objective, but he confuses the issue with bar graphs that prove nothing and are probably irrelevant and useless.

Dreamland Japan is one of the finest books on comics to appear anywhere in 1996. It is reader-friendly with an attractive design; ample illustrations, including eight pages in color; an organizational structure that allows the reader to jump in at any place; and a very readable style. For it we are very much in Frederik Schodt's debt. ●

Schodt, Frederik L. *Dreamland Japan: Writings on Modern Manga*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 1996. 360 p. index. bibliog. ISBN 1-880656-23-x. pap. \$16.95.

Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature

by L. Perry Curtis, Jr.

Reviewed by Bruce Wheltle

Perry Curtis's *Apes and Angels*, a clear-eyed assessment of Victorian scapegoating originally published in 1971, is once again readily available. In the recently published expanded edition, the Brown University history professor sketches what fascinated and ultimately compelled him to explore " . . . the connections between Victorian images of the Irish, the lore of physiognomy, the Darwinian debate over evolution, and the art of caricature." (xii) His brilliant analysis concerns the intellectualizing of prejudice.

Curtis traces the development and institutionalization of facial stereotypes in cartooning. His study centers on two types: first, prognathous (elongated upper lip) Irish stereotypes; and, second, orthognathous (proportionally balanced forehead and lip) Anglo-Saxon types

as crucial elements of this cultural objectification. As the cultural war against the Irish progressed, the image of anthropoid apes, or simianism, was conjoined with the mid-facial prognathism in depicting ever more threatening Irish types. Thus Victorian cultural imperialism determined that " . . . even if prognathous Paddy . . . spurned rebellion. . . , he could not be trusted to repudiate the simian agents of physical-force nationalism in his community." (xxii)

Focusing on how Victorian cartoonists used intertwined devices of prognathism and simianism, Curtis shows how they portrayed, objectified, and demonized Irish "Paddy" (the ape of the story) while elevating the stature and motives of their fellow Anglo-Saxons. Cunningly, he then turns the tables to show how Dublin

cartoonists were equally adept at depicting the swinish brutality of the English deployed against the ennobled and longsuffering Irish (the angel). The contrasting and handsomely orthognathous Irishman is called "Pat," the eponym of one of Dublin's comic weeklies (1879-1883). A major exception to satirically graphic portrayals of the Irish is "the empowered image of Irish womanhood" in the allegorical Hibernia or Erin.

Curtis, who has written widely on Anglo-Irish relations, educates from a perceptive and nuanced viewpoint, and with some excellent illustrative material. His research convinced him that many educated and respectable English Victorians, mostly middle class, "regarded the 'native' Irish as belonging to a distinct order of mankind or 'race' which they called Celtic or Gaelic. [T]hese English observers assigned to themselves all those superior qualities that they systematically denied to the Catholic Irish." (xi) Thus ancient enmities that were already exacerbated by Protestant and Roman Catholic hostilities were further divided by the new sciences and pseudo sciences of the nineteenth century. Central to this story is the art of physiognomy and a derivative determination of "grades of intelligence" by the relationships of "facial angles" possessed by orthognathous and prognathous individuals.

The author describes how the Zurich theologian Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1801) rediscovered physiognomy as a mirror of character. In *Physiognomische Fragmente* (1775 onward) and *Essays on Physiognomy*, Lavater build on Hippocrates, Aristotle, and the ancients to find in the human body and face evidence of moral and spiritual character that supposedly would serve its owner both in this world and the next. The influential Lavater, a theological humbug and charlatan full of Swiss fantasies of perfection, remained in print through translations for a hundred years.

But if Lavater was the impressionist of physiognomical truth, then the Dutchman Pieter Camper (1722-1789), who "combined both art and science in order to differentiate higher from lower forms of vertebrate life" (7), was its taxonomist. Camper's facial angles were determined from

his collection of profiles and skulls on which he superimposed two intersecting lines: one was a horizontal drawn through the ear and nostril openings; the other a vertical or diagonal drawn through the forehead and foremost part of the upper incisors. Perfection was achieved by the European skull ("a selective sample of one, needless to say," according to Curtis on page eight); or Grecian or Roman busts, with 80°, 90°, and 95° facial profile angles, respectively. Monkeys (42°) and orangutans (58°) were at the lower end of Camper's scale, with what Camper calls "Negroes" (70°) and "Kalmucks" (70°) in the middle.

Science, art, and quackery intermingled vigorously in the nineteenth century (as in the twentieth), and Curtis presents a conscientious, if somewhat diffuse, picture of how, despite "numerous advances in anatomy, physiology, and medical pathology . . . the assortment of ideas, assumptions, axioms, and fantasies which may be subsumed under the heading of physiognomy still influenced many well-educated scientists and laymen in the nineteenth century." (13)

Roughly a third of the book treats cartoons from the London, New York, and Dublin weeklies. Cartoons by *Punch's* John Tenniel (1820-1914) and John Leech (1817-1864), and *Judy's* sparsely documented William H. Boucher (?-1906) are the best represented of the London materials. Works by Harry Furniss (1854-1925), J. Gordon Thompson (fl. 1864-1886), Aloysius O'Kelly (1853-?), and Matt Somerville Morgan (1836-1890) are also included from *Punch*, *Fun*, *Illustrated London News*, and the radical *The Tomahawk*, respectively. From New York, cartoons by *Puck's*



Cover illustration for *Pat*, n.s. 1:2 (22 January 1881), possibly drawn by John F. O'Hea.

Frederick Burr Oppen (1857-1937), James A. Wales (1852-1886), and Joseph Keppler (1838-1894), and *Harper's Weekly's* Thomas Nast (1840-1902) are illustrated. In addition to sympathetic treatment of the Irish by O'Kelly, Dublin's sometime *Pat* cartoonist John Fergus O'Hea (1850-1922), and Thomas Fitzpatrick (1860-1912) of *The Weekly Freeman* are shown to be adept at reversing the stereotype, and indeed in mocking "the habitual distortion of Irish facial features by London's artists . . ." (71)

In the last four chapters the author unites and updates his graphic analyses in their cultural context. He examines photographs from 1865-1866 of suspected Fenian activists from archival records in the State Paper Office in Dublin Castle, and finds only six of three hundred examples to embody "acute midfacial prognathism." (90)

Part of Curtis's central hypothesis is that both the English and anglophilic Americans had long systematically marginalized the peasant Irish. As the tools of polemics and politics were sharpened by the Irish nationalist Fenian brotherhood (founded in 1857 in New York), cartoonists reflected the views of the ruling classes by ratcheting up the stakes in portrayals of fully simianized and demonized Celtic threats to state security. Observing that "Irishmen had been plotting rebellions for centuries," Curtis suggests that a confluence of cultural forces contributed to the virulence of Victorian portrayals of the Irish. These forces were the coincidence of Fenianism, the debate over Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859), and social and political pressures arising from mid-Victorian economic expansion. This in turn created a sort of critical mass propelling the Irish transformation "... from a primitive peasant to an unruly Caliban, thence to a 'white Negro,' and finally [to] the lowest conceivable level of the gorilla and the orangutan." (101)

This revised edition of *Apes and Angels* has two new chapters. In the first, Curtis describes the academic

furor that greeted his 1971 edition, as he ran afoul of "... the minefield of English attitudes toward the Irish." (109) In the other he briefly considers pre-Victorian "proto simian" characters in the work of James Gillray (1757-1815), graphic depictions of Africans and Arabs, and comic artists' use of a feminized Ireland (Erin) courted by a masculinized England. There are also updates among the eighty illustrations, including images of Irish Republican Army simianized guerrillas from the 1970s and 1980s by American cartoonists Dick Wright, C. P. Houston, and Gene Basset.

Apes and Angels is a crucial scholarly work that, since its initial publication a quarter-century ago, has provided the impetus for many subsequent investigations of caricaturing and racial stereotyping. This updated edition is most welcome. ●

Curtis, L. Perry, Jr. *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997. xxxiv, 211 p. notes. index. ISBN 1-56098-647-6 hbk. \$55.00; ISBN 1-56098-733-2 pap. \$19.95.

Derby Dugan's Depression Funnies

by Tom De Haven

Reviewed by V. Cullum Rogers

Two years ago in this journal, Tom De Haven wrote about his 1985 novel *Funny Papers*. Originally, he said, the book was to trace three eras in the life of an imaginary comic strip—its birth in the 1890s as a Sunday-only panel, its conversion in the 1930s into a daily adventure serial and its demise in the 1970s. But "... the manuscript for Part One alone ran almost six hundred pages. ... My editor and I decided to postpone Parts Two and Three and publish the first section all by itself." Eleven years later, what would have been the second portion of *Funny Papers*

has arrived as *Derby Dugan's Depression Funnies*.

The real-life New York City of *Funny Papers* was a world of magic, where a dog named Fuzzy could talk, and a cartoonist named Georgie Wreckage, creator of a Yellow Kid-like feature called "Down in Awful Alley," could see the future in the side of a crackpot inventor's electric toaster. Like the Outcault panels that inspired it, *Funny Papers* swarmed with incidents and characters. Chief among the latter, besides Wreckage, were an ambitious teenage cartoonist named Walter Geebus and a bald,

derby-wearing street urchin known as Pinfold, whose appearance with Fuzzy in one of Wreckage's spot news illustrations sparked the new art form. Even De Haven's third-person narration displayed a touch of sorcery as it swooped in and out of the characters' psyches with the omniscient ease of Fielding or Dickens.

Forty years later, the magic has evaporated. The only talking dogs are in the funnies, and the old inventor's toasters are mass-produced consumer goods. The real Pinfold is forgotten, his comic strip doppelganger now a male Orphan Annie called Derby Dugan, and Georgie Wreckage is a fading memory. Walter Geebus, who once assisted Wreckage on his strip and later replaced him, has aged from a fresh-faced (though not very trustworthy) Horatio Alger type into a tyrannical recluse with the politics of *Annie's* Harold Gray and the churlishness of *Joe Palooka's* Ham Fisher.

What most separates the new novel from its predecessor is its voice. The action of *Derby Dugan's Depression Funnies* is recounted by Al Bready, a writer for Geebus's strip and pulp magazines. Bready's memoir, set down forty years after the fact but laced with mid-thirties shoptalk and slang, flows by with breezy superficiality. Speaking of Geebus, he says:

I never much warmed to him. Never did. Never could. Why? Well, I don't know why, really. Maybe it was his money; it may have been as petty as that, petty jealousy. Or because he was a Republican. Or a skirt chaser. Or maybe it was a purely chemical reaction. I don't know. I can't say. ...

Bready, who at first seems little more than Geebus's Boswell, soon becomes a more complex figure—a wounded, passive loner only partly aware of his own withdrawal from life. Like the comic strips it celebrates, the novel presents a gallery of colorful figures—artists, publishers, prostitutes, gangsters—who bump up against the central character without altering his basic nature. The only ones who etch themselves deeply into Bready's memory are Geebus



Walter Geibus's "Derby Dugan," Sunday, October 11, 1936.
Art Spiegelman's frontispiece for *Derby Dugan's Depression Funnies*

and an unhappily married typist named Jewel Rodgers, on whom he develops a lifelong crush. The will-they-won't-they relationship between Rodgers and Bredy supplies the book's main plot, and Bredy's unwillingness—or inability—to resolve it gradually darkens its tone. *Derby Dugan* is filled with comic

scenes and snappy patter, but it's not for nothing that the word *Depression* precedes *Funnies*.

The novel comes most alive when it explores the nuts and bolts of comic strips (and, in a subplot, the early days of comic books). "As a boy, I covered my bedroom walls with Sunday funnies," De Haven

wrote in an afterword to *Funny Papers*.⁵ Though he never went on to draw cartoons professionally, every aspect of their creation resonates in his imagination with the intensity of Proust's madeleine cakes. Bredy lingers over the most minute detail of the profession. Watching a young cartoonist named Howard Blum ink a strip the two hope to launch, he says:

He picked up his brush, dipped it in a jar of Chinese white, whittled it to a point, and resumed correcting the sample Sunday page. I watched him cover several bleed areas, then had a peek at Howard's title-logo. . . . It looked good, what he'd done, and best of all it didn't resemble the logo—the trademark logo—that Walter Geebus had designed when I came along in '31 and "Derby Dugan" changed formats.⁶

"Scripting 'Derby Dugan' was easy for me, . . . it was fun," Bredy says. "But seeing it every day in the newspaper, that was heroin. I can't explain it, it wasn't sex, but it was sex. . . . 'Derby Dugan' may've been a cheap little comic strip, but I loved making it."⁷ That love is the strongest emotion in the novel, and Bredy judges others by how intensely they share it. This accounts for his respect for Geebus ("the strip was his calling, his monumental enterprise, his only child"⁸) and his scorn for hacks like Geebus's eventual replacement, Bud Lydecker.

Bud filled in whenever strip men fell behind on their deadlines, or got sick, or went off on a toot, or the wife died. A week here, a week there. A Sunday page for several months. And he always did a lazy job, never a decent copy, not even close. . . . Established guys, guys with their own strips, scorned him, and so did the guys who'd had their own strips but lost them and were back in harness, and the young hopefuls all stayed clear of him, like they were afraid of being infected.⁹

The novel's only truly evil character, however, is a King Features executive with the unsubtle name of

Tom Sharkey, who views comic strips solely in terms of merchandising and money. Merchandising is the aspect of the comic strip enterprise about which De Haven seems most ambivalent. In the 1890s of *Funny Papers*, the proliferation of advertisements and products featuring Georgie Wreckage's Pinfold and Fuzzy was sometimes a benign reflection of the new art form's popularity, sometimes an ominous threat to the real Pinfold's sense of self. In *Derby Dugan's* 1930s, toys and games and endorsements have lost most of their innocence. Can the strips themselves be far behind?

De Haven writes thoughtfully about the myth and business of cartoons, and he weaves his insights into novels that can be read with pleasure for their stories and characters alone. If that is not enough, *Derby Dugan's Depression Funnies* is also the best-looking novel I have seen in some years, thanks to Art Spiegelman, who provided the dust jacket, page-headers and a full-page, full-color Sunday episode of *Derby Dugan*. The book is dedicated to Spiegelman, and I hope he will be back for the next installment. I also hope it will not be eleven years before Derby and Fuzzy enter the decade that saw the death of *Li'l Abner* and the birth of *Garfield*. ●

NOTES

1. Tom De Haven, "Borrowing Richard Outcault," *Inks* 2:3 (November 1995), 18.
2. Tom De Haven, *Derby Dugan's Depression Funnies* (New York: Henry Holt, 1996), 39.
3. Tom De Haven, *Funny Papers* (New York: Viking, 1985), 367.
4. De Haven, *Derby Dugan's Depression Funnies*, 257.
5. De Haven, *Derby Dugan's Depression Funnies*, 234.
6. De Haven, *Derby Dugan's Depression Funnies*, 6.
7. De Haven, *Derby Dugan's Depression Funnies*, 156.

De Haven, Tom. *Derby Dugan's Depression Funnies*. New York: Henry Holt, 1996. 290 p. ISBN 0-8050-4445-0 hbk. \$23.00

The Great Women Superheroes

by Trina Robbins

Reviewed by Amy Kiste Nyberg

Trina Robbins has produced an easy-to-read, entertaining survey of women superheroes, some well known and others long forgotten. As Robbins points out, the book is not a comprehensive listing and it is not intended as an encyclopedia. Rather, the author selected those women superheroes she felt to be "the best, the worst, the silliest, or the most interesting." In addition, as the title suggests, she includes only superheroines—those with costumes who had special powers and/or secret identities. You will find no discussion of Lois Lane, girl reporter, or the scantily clad jungle women in these pages.

The book is broken into eleven short chapters, arranged roughly chronologically and beginning with the best-known superheroine, Wonder Woman. It is illustrated with more than two hundred black-and-white reproductions and a few photographs. The primary focus is on comic book characters, but some comic strip heroines also are included. Robbins's discussion of Wonder Woman reviews the history of her creation by psychologist William Moulton Marston and praises the positive message the comic sent to its female readers: that any girl could become a wonder woman. She argues that the male critics who see Wonder Woman as a lesbian and denounce the comic for its emphasis on bondage and male bashing are reading into the character their own fears of strong female images and judging her by male standards of feminine appearance and behavior.

The rest of the book, however, does not live up to the promise of the first chapter. Although Robbins returns periodically to the Wonder Woman character, she provides no real analysis of how, and more importantly why, the character changed

through the years. Wonder Woman is the comic book industry's longest-surviving superheroine, and charting her evolution could reveal a lot about both the industry that created and recreated her and the audience that followed her adventures through the years. In addition, Robbins gives the reader no real sense of the influence that Wonder Woman or other early superheroines had on the subsequent development of the superheroine, beyond suggesting that their success encouraged publishers to add more women superheroes. Robbins argues that the most original and interesting superheroines in recent years have come from the independents, who do not have fifty years of character history to contend with, but she fails to develop that idea. Superman defined what it meant to be a super-



hero. In what way did Wonder Woman establish the conventions of the superheroine, and how did those conventions later constrain the depiction of women superheroes?

As a comics professional and a comics historian whose previous work also has focused on women, Robbins is in a unique position to contribute an analysis that blends the insider's knowledge with the scholar's critical perspective to produce an insightful account. Instead, Robbins contents herself with a largely descriptive overview of characters, with a surprising emphasis on what they wore. She devotes a large share of each chapter to details about the costumes, despite the fact that the illustrations accompanying the text provide that information. The facts about color and other technicalities could easily have been added to the captions, leaving Robbins free to

move beyond the mere appearance of the character in the text. And while her humorous commentary on the impracticality of the superheroine costume was amusing at first, such as her observation that the Black Canary "must have spent a fortune to keep herself in tights, as her fishnet hose couldn't possibly have survived all those spectacular fights," it quickly became redundant.

Robbins observes that the female audience for comics finds little to appeal to them in the contemporary depictions of women superheroes. That is not surprising, considering that superheroines are created by a male-dominated industry for a largely male audience. Instead of focusing on the response of the minute segment of the audience for comics that is female, Robbins might better address the impact that the image of these "super" women has on the boys and young

men who read comics. A marketing representative for a comic book company once told me he considered the depiction of women in comic books to be nothing more than "kiddie porn." Are the consumers of these images being encouraged to think the same way? Scholars should add Robbins' latest book to their reference library, because any research that illuminates the way in which women have been marginalized in the pages of the comics and by the industry is valuable. But you will be left to draw your own conclusions about the significance of these great women superheroes. ●

Robbins, Trina. *The Great Women Superheroes*. Kitchen Sink Press. 1996. 207 p. index. bibliog. ISBN 0-87816-482-0 hback. \$31.95; ISBN 0-87816-481-2 pap. \$21.95.

I Want to See This Annie Mattygraph: A Cartoon History of the Coming of the Movies

by Stephen Bottomore

Reviewed by M. Thomas Inge

The movies and the comics grew up together, looking over each other's shoulders and each borrowing from the other in content and technique. They were new forms of creative expression, inevitable products of the industrial revolution and its scientific technology, combining an age old interest in the visual arts with a more recent fascination with literacy and the narrative arts. Because of their magic combination of narrative with the immense appeal of pictures, both proved wildly popular with people of all classes and economic levels in all parts of the world.

In *Before Mickey: The Animated Film 1898-1928*, Donald Crafton has

argued that "By 1895, when the cinema was launched, the comic strip was already an old, established art form, . . . [and] their impact on the earliest films was minimal . . ." (36) What he intends to suggest is that comic pictorial narratives have been around at least since the first part of the nineteenth century in the work of such artists as the Swiss Rodolphe Töpffer and the German Wilhelm Busch. Humorous weeklies and periodicals of the time published sequential cartoons which anticipated elements of the comic strip, with word balloons and recurring characters. After making this disclaimer that there was little influence between comics and film,

Crafton goes on to undermine his own point by outlining very specific uses of gag and story material borrowed from comic strips and cartoons by the early film makers. Many of the earliest silent comedies were based directly on favorite comic strip characters such as Buster Brown, Happy Hooligan, the Katzenjammer Kids, and the British character Ally Sloper. These were live-action films, not animated features, which would not occur until 1911 when Winsor McCay hand-animated his own characters from *Little Nemo in Slumberland*. In addition to McCay, many cartoonists eventually became film makers, among them Emile Cohl and George Mâliès in France and J. Stuart Blackton and Roy McCardell in the United States. There is the testimony, too, of several early film mak-



From: *Ruggles at the Eldorado Palace*. "Here, I want to see this Annie Mattygraph. What time does she come on?"

"I want to see this Annie Mattygraph" by C. Harrison. *Scraps*, 16 January 1897.

ers that on frequent occasions, and especially on slack days when inspiration was running low, directors turned directly to the comic papers to steal ideas with no regard for intellectual property rights. On the technical side, many standard techniques of film production such as montage, angle shots, close-ups and panning were anticipated by or first employed in the comics. Some cinematographers have reported that they learned how to shoot through a study of particularly skillful comic strip artists.

Whatever conclusion we reach about this matter, it remains indisputable that comic artists have had a long standing love affair with the seductive lady cinema, as Stephen Bottomore has amply demonstrated and documented in his admirable book *I Want to See This Annie Mattygraph: A Cartoon History of the Coming of the Movies*. With the help of colleagues in many countries, especially Great Britain, France, German, Italy, Russia, and the United

States. Bottomore has searched through papers and comic journals published during the first years of film, specifically from 1895 through 1914, and come up with a great quantity of cartoons and comic strips which satirized or commented on the cinema. From this body of material, he selected 236 (twenty-three in color) and reprinted them with commentary in this oversized volume so as to form a historic overview of the development of the cinema as a social and cultural phenomenon. He fully demonstrates the commonplace idea that the comics are a reflection of the society in which they are produced, but he does it with unusual scholarship and authority.

The book's title derives from an 1897 cartoon by C. Harrison in the British paper *Scraps*. At the time, the term for the new-fangled form of entertainment was the "animatigraph" (after Robert Paul's early film projector), before it became more commonly known as the "cinematograph." A rustic is purchasing a ticket at the Eldorado Palace: "Here, I want to see this Annie Mattygraph. What time does she come on?" The speaker assumes her to be one of the many dancing girls to populate the vaudeville stage. The reader must wait until page forty-four to discover this, but the book's odd title is the only weakness in an otherwise effective work. Of course, the subtitle *A Cartoon History of the Coming of the Movies* would have been too prosaic alone.

With a text both in Italian and English, the material is arranged in seven chapters which treat thematically separate topics such as first responses to the new medium; how movies are made; going out to the picture show; the opposition to and regulation of movies as a social menace; film genres (travel, melodrama, the western, etc.); and themes and issues of the movies (realism and truth, war, politics, etc.). Each chapter then is divided into sections with an introduction to the cartoons that follow. In the process of commenting on the cartoons and comic strips, Bottomore thoroughly explains how they reflect on nearly all aspects of the development, impact, and nature of the early motion picture. Each

introduction is a clear and well-researched mini-essay on film history from which even experts are likely to learn a few new facts.

Interestingly enough, the first cartoon about film to be discovered appeared in the 10 February 1895 issue of the *Chicago Times*. A ragged African American preacher is seen peering into an Edison Kinetoscope to see the day's feature, a cock fight. He laments in deep dialect his inability to get his hands on the seemingly real birds. Not only does this drawing reflect the initial wonder at the visual reality of film, but it also provides another example of the ethnic stereotyping in popular humor of the time. In the pages that follow, the Irish, Jews, Germans and others come in for equal opportunity ridicule. There is a good deal more in these pictures, then, than simple movie history.

An extremely useful addition to this volume is its index with dates and brief biographies of the known artists represented. Among the North American cartoonists are George Carlson, Frederick G. Cooper, James Montgomery Flagg, Louis M. Glackens, Frank Godwin, Rube Goldberg, Arthur Lewis, Thomas May, Hy Mayer, Fanny Munsell, F. W. Read, and William Allen Rogers. Unwittingly, however, Bottomore failed to credit the example of the work of T. S. Sullivant (1854-1926) in figure 177. The signature is obscure, but anyone who knows the Sullivant style with exaggerated heads and personalized animals will recognize his art here. But this is a very minor correction in a painstakingly thorough and scholarly work of film and comics history. Movie historian David Robinson provides a useful introduction with his own insights into Bottomore's discoveries. All readers who care about the visual arts will find the book informative and entertaining. ●

Bottomore, Stephen. *I Want to See This Annie Mattygraph: A Cartoon History of the Coming of the Movies*. Gemonia, Italy: Le Giornate del Cinema Muto. 1995. 246 p. index. SBN 88-86155-2. hbk. \$95.00. Distributed in the United States by Indiana University Press.

Early Comics in the Movies

The American motion picture and comic strips followed parallel patterns of development, the one often borrowing from or imitating the other. *Early Motion Pictures The Paper Print Collection in the Library of Congress* by Kemp R. Niver (published in 1985 by the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division of the Library of Congress, and now, unfortunately, out of print) provides specific information on forty-two films which were adaptations of popular comic strips of the period from 1894 to 1912.

When it became clear in 1894 that motion pictures were no mere novelty but a big business, producers sought to protect their work through copyright, but there would be no copyright law governing films until

1912. The law did, however, protect photography. Turn-of-the-century movie producers decided to submit prints of films on lengthy strips of paper, the idea being that each frame was protected as an individual photograph. The copyright office accepted the rolls of contact prints and stored them in the basement of the Library of Congress. Meanwhile, the original film on nitrate stock began the slow and sometimes explosive process of self-destruction.

In the mid-1930s, when the collection was re-discovered, archivists realized what a significant part of film history was therein preserved and began to seek a way of recapturing the original film from the paper print. Finally, Kemp Niver, a lawyer, detective, and film historian, came up with a method of copying the paper

prints, frame by frame, onto film, a process for which the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences awarded Niver an Oscar in 1954.

Two of the comics-related titles have special significance for historians of the medium in that the artists themselves appear—*The Creators of Foxy Grandpa* features cartoonist Charles E. Schultz and scenes from a musical based on *Foxy Grandpa*; and one of a series of *Buster Brown* films shows Richard Felton Outcault at the drawing board sketching Buster and his dog Tige.

Following are the entries for the forty-two film adaptations of comic strips listed in *Early Motion Pictures The Paper Print Collection in the Library of Congress*.

—M. Thomas Inge

Alphonse and Gaston

AM&B © H23787 Nov. 11, 1902

Cameraman: Robert K. Bonine

Location: Fair Haven, N.J. Photographed: June 25, 1902

13 ft. FLA3702 (print) FRA0043 (neg.)

The film opens outside a house with a picket fence. A heavily veiled woman approaches the camera position and hesitates at the edge of the curbing because of mud. Two men appear and after much bowing and swaying to one another, finally put an article of clothing down in the mud in front of the woman who steps on it and proceeds on her way as the film ends.

Alphonse and Gaston, no. 1

AM&B © H37437 Oct. 31, 1903

Cameraman: A. E. Weed

Location: Studio, N.Y.C. Photographed: Oct. 16, 1903

5 ft. FLA4434 (print) FRA0044 (neg.)

This was photographed from a single camera position and shows a bar in which a cowboy makes Alphonse and Gaston dance by shooting at their feet.

See also: Alphonse and Gaston, No. 3 for a longer version.

Alphonse and Gaston, no. 2

AM&B © H37438 Oct. 31, 1903

Cameraman: A. E. Weed

Location: Studio, N.Y.C. Photographed: Oct. 16, 1903

4 ft. FLA4436 (print) FRA0045 (neg.)

A single camera position shows Alphonse and Gaston against a painted backdrop as a man carrying a log of wood appears and drops something. Both attempt to help him and all three end up in a heap on the ground.

Alphonse and Gaston, no. 3

AM&B © H37366 Oct. 27, 1903

Cameraman: A. E. Weed

Location: Studio, N.Y.C. Photographed: Oct. 16, 1903

30 ft. FLA4467 (print) FRA0046 (neg., copy 1) FRA1561 (neg., copy 2)

This one-camera position film is of a vaudeville act that starts in a saloon with the saloon keeper behind the bar. The first action shows two costumed characters approaching the bar. They back up and go forward and gesture over who is to take the first drink until they annoy a cowboy who is also in the saloon. He takes a gun from his holster and shoots at the floor near the two comics. They begin to dance. As the film ends, they are dancing off camera position. The film was taken off 70mm Mutoscope paper.

Alphonse and Gaston Helping Irishman

AM&B © H23785 Nov. 11, 1902

Cameraman: Robert K. Bonine

Photographed: June 25, 1902

12 ft. FRA3475 (print) FRA0047 (neg.)

The camera was positioned in the center of a road edged with trees. In the distance, a workman carrying several large planks on his shoulder can be seen approaching. A sack of tools is on one end of the planks as a balance. Two men in top hats and frock coats follow him closely. They rush to his aid as the sack of tools slides from the planks to the ground. Each bows to the other stating, "I'll do it," until the workman can no longer wait. He bends over to retrieve the tools and hits Alphonse and Gaston on the head with the plank. The film is in poor condition and quite grainy.

Another Name Was Maude

AM&B © H76575 May 2, 1906

Cameraman: G. W. Bitzer [?]

Location: Laddin's Reck Farm [?] *Photographed:* Apr. 24, 1906 [?]

207 ft. FLA4417 (print) FRA0077 (neg.)

This film features a vaudeville team of a trained donkey and two comics, one the farmer type and the other the Happy Hooligan type. All the scenes were photographed outdoors in a barnyard. The action consists of the farmer's attempts to get rid of the obstreperous, stubborn little donkey who, when ridden or driven, apparently would go in circles or figure eights only. At no time is the farmer successful in making the donkey do anything except what it wants to do. The film ends abruptly when the farmer ties the donkey to a tree and blows it up with dynamite.

The Boys Help Themselves to Foxy Grandpa's Cigars

AM&B © H18038 May 23, 1902

Cameraman: Robert K. Bonine

Cast: Joseph Hart as Foxy Grandpa

Location: Roof studio, N.Y.C. *Date:* May 17, 1902

20 ft. FLA4358 (print) FRA0300 (neg.)

On a set of a garden, two small boys are sitting on a bench and smoking a cigar. As the film progresses, they continue smoking until apparently they become ill. At that moment, an old gentleman (Foxy Grandpa) escorting a lovely young woman enters and the boys jump up from the bench. They run off the set as the old gentleman offers them another cigar. Although the quality of the film is poor, the action is distinguishable.

The Boys, Still Determined, Try It Again on Foxy Grandpa, with the Same Result

AM&B © H18037 May 23, 1902

Cameraman: Robert K. Bonine

Cast: Joseph Hart as Foxy Grandpa

Location: Roof studio, N.Y.C. *Date:* May 17, 1902

44 ft. FLA4510 (print) FRA1564 (neg.)

On a set of a garden at the side of a house, two large boys are conspiring to play a trick on Foxy Grandpa. As the old gentleman enters the scene, the two boys are busily engaged in attempting to do tricks with strings. The film ends as the old gentleman outshines them by doing magic tricks and conjuring up a rabbit from behind his handkerchief.

The Boys Think They Have One on Foxy Grandpa, but He Fools Them

AM&B © H18036 May 23, 1902

Cameraman: Robert K. Bonine

Cast: Joseph Hart as Foxy Grandpa

Location: Roof studio, N.Y.C. *Date:* May 17, 1902

26 ft. FLA4357 (print) FRA0301 (neg.)

A man made up to appear as an old, grey-haired gentleman can be seen sitting on a bench in a set of a garden. Two small boys, one carrying a banjo, appear and hand the banjo to the old gentleman who begins playing it. The two boys start to dance to his accompaniment and when they finish, they indicate that he cannot equal their skill at dancing. The old gentleman rises from the bench, goes to the center of the stage, and executes some very intricate steps while playing his own accompaniment on the banjo, to the amazement and astonishment of the boys.

The Boys Try to Put One Over on Foxy Grandpa

AM&B © H18035 May 23, 1902

Cameraman: Robert K. Bonine

Cast: Joseph Hart as Foxy Grandpa

Location: Roof studio, N.Y.C. *Date:* May 17, 1902

32 ft. FLA4511 (print) FRA0303 (neg.)

On a set of a penny arcade or an amusement zone two rather large boys can be seen tampering with one of the devices. A man, who is dressed and walks as if he were elderly, appears on the scene. Judging from the gestures of the two boys, they attempt to convince him to try the device with which they have tampered. He does, but the trick backfires and the boys are the butt of their practical joke. The remainder of the film shows "Grandpa" working other devices, to the amusement of the two boys.

Buster and Tige Put a Balloon Vendor Out of Business

See: Buster Brown Series

Buster Brown and the Dude

See: Buster Brown Series

Buster Brown Series: Buster and Tige Put a Balloon Vendor Out of Business

Edison © H43074 Mar. 9, 1904

Cameraman: Edwin S. Porter

Location: Studio, N.Y.C.

34 ft. FLA5269 (print) FRA8281 (neg.)

The story line in this picture is built around Buster Brown, his "mommy," several dogs, and a balloon vendor. The first action that can be seen is the balloon vendor walking back and forth on a stage with a backdrop of a large city. Buster Brown, his dog, and his mother approach the vendor. Buster orders his dog to bite the vendor and soon the noise attracts several other dogs. The balloon vendor, in fear for his life and his property, attempts to fight off the dogs, but they destroy his balloons one by one.

See also: Pranks of Buster Brown and His Dog Tige; Buster Brown and the Dude; Buster Makes Room for His Mama at the Bargain Counter; Buster's Joke on Papa; Buster's Dog to the Rescue; Buster and Tige Put(s) a Balloon Vendor out of Business

Buster Brown Series: Buster Brown and the Dude

Edison © H43074 Mar. 9, 1904

Cameraman: Edwin S. Porter

Location: Studio, N.Y.C.

33 ft. FLA5269 (print) FRA8278 (neg.)

This is about "Buster," his dog "Tige," two young ladies, and a young man and his dog. The action takes place in

front of a set of the front of a dry goods or small department store. Buster enters the scene with his dog, which he orders to sit. From camera right come two young ladies dressed in the mode of the day. A well-dressed young "dude" leading a small bulldog enters from camera left. He approaches the two young ladies and tips his hat. This apparently upsets Buster as he orders his dog to fight with the small dog. The picture ends as the two dogs are seen going round and round in the center of the stage.

Buster Brown Series: Buster Makes Room for His Mama at the Bargain Counter

Edison © H43074 Mar. 9, 1904

Cameraman: Edwin S. Porter

Location: Studio, N.Y.C.

41 ft. FLA5269 (print) FRA8279 (neg.)

The action and the plot are built around a bargain counter in a department store. The set shows the counter and the displayed merchandise. The first action is a little boy, "Buster," and his dog "Tige" entering the scene. Immediately behind the boy are approximately twenty women who crowd around the merchandise at the bargain counter. Buster's mother appears and cannot get to view the merchandise. Buster orders his dog to cause a commotion. The film ends as Tige is jumping, barking, and grabbing the legs of stools, which cause all of the women at the bargain counter to leave, allowing Buster's mother to select her purchases unhindered.

Buster Brown Series: Buster's Dog to the Rescue

Edison © H43074 Mar. 9, 1904

Cameraman: Edwin S. Porter

42 ft. FLA5269 (print) FRA0365 (neg.)

A buxom woman can be seen sitting by the kitchen table and feigning sleep. A small boy, "Buster" and his dog enter the room. The boy, seeing the cook asleep, ties her apron over her head. He then goes into the closet and helps himself to jam. At that moment, a tramp in torn clothes enters through the window in the set. Buster seats him at the table and begins feeding him. His mother comes in and Buster sicks his dog on the tramp. He is complimented for his bravery and given large portions of cookies and jam. This ends the film.

Buster Brown Series: Pranks of Buster Brown and His Dog Tige

Edison © H43074 Mar. 9, 1904

Cameraman: Edwin S. Porter

Location: Studio, N.Y.C.

68 ft. FLA5269 (print) FRA8280 (neg.)

The plot is built around the activities of Buster Brown, a small, mischievous boy. The complete film was photographed from a single camera position. It begins by showing a kitchen where a buxom woman is busy at work. The small boy enters, asks for something and is refused. As the woman leaves the room, it is evident from her gestures that she is admonishing him to behave himself. As the door closes behind her, Buster places a ladder so as to reach something on a top shelf. He is caught ascending the ladder by his mother and soundly spanked. His mother leaves the room, shaking her finger at him, and his dog Tige enters. Buster orders him to climb the ladder, steal the object and return it to his master. The film ends as the dog is being rewarded by pats on the head.

Buster Makes Room for His Mama at the Bargain Counter

See: Buster Brown Series

Buster's Dog to the Rescue

See: Buster Brown Series

Buster's Joke on Papa

Edison © H37396 Oct. 28, 1903

63 ft. FLA4528 (print) FRA0366 (neg.)

The action begins in the kitchen where the cook is handling some live crabs that have just been purchased. The next scene is in a bedroom where a man can be seen sitting in a rocker reading a newspaper. He leaves the room to prepare for bed and our hero, "Buster," is seen placing crabs in his bed. Father returns, gets into bed and right out again, with some crabs attached to his anatomy. The last scene shows Buster being led to a chair by his mother. He is wearing a large, soft pillow tied to his posterior.

Buster's Joke on Papa

Edison © H39775 Dec. 21, 1903

53 ft. FLA4529 (print) FRA0367 (neg.)

The first scene shows Mother buying crabs from a vendor. The second shows Father preparing for bed while Buster places crabs in the bed. Father retires and leaps from the bed in agony at the pain inflicted by the crabs. The last scene shows Buster standing up to eat his breakfast rather than sit on a pillow.

The Creators of Foxy Grandpa

AM&B © H18032 May 23, 1902

Cameraman: Robert K. Bonine

Cast: Joseph Hart, Carrie DeMar, Charles E. Schultz

Date: May 7, 1902

26 ft. FLA4354 (print) FRA0347 (neg.)

The camera was positioned as if in a front seat in a vaudeville house. The film shows a painted backdrop and a constructed fence, arbor, etc. The action consists of the participants being introduced to the audience. There is a woman in a large picture hat and summer dress, a man in an ordinary business suit, two boys dressed as twins, and last but not least, a young man made up to appear as an old gentleman. This series illustrates scenes from William A. Brady's musical production.

Foxy Grandpa and Polly in a Little Hilarity

AM&B © H18034 May 23, 1902

Cast: Joseph Hart as Foxy Grandpa, Carrie DeMar as Polly

Cameraman: Robert K. Bonine

Location: Roof Studio, N.Y.C. *Date:* May 17, 1902

12 ft. FLA4356 (print) FRA1497 (neg.)

The camera was positioned over the head of people watching a vaudeville act. First we see a constructed stone fence and a stage backdrop painted as a garden scene. A man made up to appear as a fat old man enters from stage left. He is escorting an attractive young lady dressed in the fashion of the era. The two of them then demonstrate their ability as dancers by executing several different routines in unison.

Foxy Grandpa Shows the Boys a Trick or Two With the Tramp

AM&B © H18033 May 23, 1902

Cast: Joseph Hart as Foxy Grandpa

Cameraman: Robert K. Bonine

Location: Roof Studio N.Y.C. Date: May 17, 1902

21 ft. FLA4355 (print) FRA1496 (neg.)

Two boys carrying a dummy dressed in men's clothing between them can be seen in front of a set of an outdoor scene. The boys place the dummy on the bench in the foreground and leave. A tramp comes along, notices the dummy, tosses it away, and lies down himself. The two boys reappear with a man dressed as an old gaffer. The tramp gets to his feet and attempts to fight with the old man who returns his blows and chases him away. The film ends as the old gentleman stands with his thumbs stuck in his vest in a gesture of bravado.

Happy Hooligan

AM&B © H33025 June 20, 1903

Cameraman: G. W. Bitzer

Date: June 15, 1903

19 ft. FLA3435 (print) FRA0721 (neg.)

A tramp is watching an organ grinder at work in front of a two-story house set. As the picture progresses, the music attracts an unsympathetic woman to the second-floor window. The tramp spies a policeman and warns the organ grinder, who runs away. The policeman apprehends and admonishes the tramp for his actions. While the policeman is ordering the tramp to vacate the area, the woman returns to the window and dumps a bucket of water on the policeman. When she sees what she has done, she hangs half way out the window in a faint.

Happy Hooligan April-Fooled

Edison © H3107 Apr. 6, 1901

24 ft. FLA3712 (print) FRA0959 (neg.)

The backdrop is painted to resemble the front of a saloon, and a man dressed as a bartender is standing in front of it. Two small boys walk up to him and attempt to sell him newspapers. He does not want any. The small boys begin wrestling over a tall silk hat lying on the sidewalk. The bartender separates the youngsters just as a man dressed as a tramp enters the scene. The tramp starts to pick up the silk hat, decides it is a trick, and the bartender picks it up. Underneath the hat is a bottle, which the bartender picks up, and drinks from. The tramp falls down in a faint, ending the scene.

Happy Hooligan in a Trap

AM&B © H33399 July 6, 1903

Cameraman: G. W. Bitzer

Photographed: June 25, 1903

20 ft. FLA3618 (print) FRA0878 (neg.)

Two young ladies are sitting on a bench in a yard in front of a structure representing a modest house. While they are busy at their work, Happy Hooligan in his tramp costume appears, sticks his head between the young women, and frightens them away. He then walks over to the house, climbs on a box, and puts his head through the window. The window closes on him, leaving him hanging by his neck. He is rescued by his tramp friend, Gloomy Gus. The film ends with Happy Hooligan prostrate on the ground while resuscitation methods are employed.

Happy Hooligan Surprised

Edison © H3108 Apr. 6, 1901

24 ft. FLA4651 (print) FRA1681 (neg.)

Three boys are matching pennies in front of a grocery store set. Happy Hooligan, standing on the sidewalk close to the building, observes them. The grocer notices the boys at their game and interrupts them to show them a new game involving a funnel and a coin. The funnel is placed inside the belt of a man's trousers and a coin is placed on his forehead. The trick is to catch the coin in the funnel. This is played two, or three times when Happy's curiosity gets the better of him and he asks to join in. When the funnel is tucked in his belt and a coin is put on his forehead, the grocer pours water into the funnel.

Happy Hooligan Turns Burglar

Edison © H13157 Jan. 16, 1902

Cameraman: Edwin S. Porter

47 ft. FLA4652 (print) FRA1682 (neg.)

This comedy begins on a set of the sitting room of a wealthy person, where the maid is entertaining a policeman. She seats him and serves him refreshments. A face appears in the window behind them, frightening the maid who hides the policeman in a cabinet. Happy comes in through the door and begins removing furniture and bric-a-brac. The cabinet door opens a crack and Happy sets about blowing it up with dynamite. Pieces of the policeman land on the set and the maid assembles them. With the use of stop-action photography, a live policeman replaces the dummy. The policeman, with an agonized expression on his face, stands there, realizing the maid has put him back together incorrectly. He has a hand for a foot and a foot where his hand should be.

Happy Hooligan's Interrupted Lunch

AM&B © H36631 Oct. 8, 1903

Cameraman: A. E. Weed

Location: Studio, N.Y.C. Photographed: Oct. 1, 1903

37 ft. FLA4650 (print) FRA1680 (neg.)

The opening scene is a set of a dining room in a modest house where a well-dressed woman, and a woman dressed as a maid, enter and busy themselves setting a table. They leave, and the head of Happy Hooligan appears at an open window. He surveys the room, enters, sits at the table, and begins gobbling food as rapidly as both hands can work and his mouth tolerates. While he is gorging himself, the two women return and begin chasing him around the table. In order to create the impression of great speed, the cameraman slowed down his photography. After a few turns around the table, Happy jumps out the window, leaving the two women looking out the window after him.

Hooligan as a Safe Robber

AM&B © H36676 Oct. 10, 1903

Cameraman: G. W. Bitzer

Location: Studio, N.Y.C. Photographed: Oct. 5, 1903

18 ft. FLA3831 (print) FRA1059 (neg.)

A burglar is busily engaged in opening the combination knob of a big black safe in an office set. As the film continues, the burglar is seen drilling holes and setting fuses. The shade in the window goes up and the face of Happy Hooligan appears. Hooligan, seeing the burglar at work, is inspired to do his duty as a citizen and he jumps into the room, scaring off the burglar. Just then, the safe explodes, and the police arrive and take the innocent Hooligan away, certain he is the culprit.

Hooligan Assists the Magician

Edison © D21658 Nov. 16, 1900

39 ft. FLA4656 (print) FRA1685 (neg.)

A magician performs in front of a backdrop resembling the rear wall of a concert hall. His act consists of making barrels appear and disappear, conjuring up apparitions that grow in size and then disappear, and causing furniture to vanish or break in pieces. For the finale of the act, the magician causes himself to disappear.

Hooligan in Jail

AM&B © H36551 Oct. 6, 1903

Cameraman: G. W. Bitzer

Location: Studio, N.Y.C. Photographed: Sept. 25, 1903

30 ft. FLA4657 (print) FRA1686 (neg.)

The film begins on a set of the interior of a jail where Happy Hooligan, dressed in tattered garments and wearing a tin hat, is occupying a cell. A grotesque and burlesque version of a policeman enters and hands Happy a bowl of food. Happy begins to eat and, as he does so, the camera starts to move toward him. By the time the film ends, the camera has moved in to a tight close-up of Happy.

Hooligan to the Rescue

AM&B © H36550 Oct. 6, 1903

Cameraman: G. W. Bitzer

Location: Studio, N.Y.C. Photographed: Sept. 25, 1903

3 ft. FLA5456 (print) FRA2708 (neg.)

The painted set of the front of a house was photographed from a one-camera position, and smoke can be seen coming from the window. Happy Hooligan runs into the scene, picks up a bucket of water, and throws it into the window just as the occupant of the house appears and is covered with water. A policeman arrives and arrests Happy.

Hooligan's Christmas Dream

AM&B © H38687 Dec. 1, 1903

Cameraman: G. W. Bitzer

Location: Studio, N.Y.C. Photographed: Nov. 5, 1903

150 ft. FLA5457 (print) FRA2345 (neg.)

Happy Hooligan falls asleep in the snow after looking through the window of a house. He dreams that he is asleep in a warm bed as Santa Claus delivers gifts. A servant serves him breakfast in bed, helps him dress, and lights his cigar. The last scene, before a policeman wakens him from his lovely dream, shows Happy Hooligan hitting one of the servants who hides under a table. Happy then stamps on the servant's fingers.

Hooligan's Roller Skates

AM&B © H36863 Oct. 19, 1903

Cameraman: A. E. Weed

Location: Studio, N.Y.C. Photographed: Oct. 9, 1903

20 ft. FLA3754 (print) FRA1000 (neg.)

The action begins in front of a set of a house-front. Two boys are tying roller skates on to a sleeping tramp. Then, they wake the tramp, who proceeds to give an involuntary exhibition of a poor skater. The skating tramp frantically attempts to catch the culprits but instead skates into a policeman, who is seen escorting him off the set as the film ends.

Hooligan's Thanksgiving Dinner

AM&B © H37833 Nov. 10, 1903

Cameraman: A. E. Weed

Location: Studio, N.Y.C. Photographed: Oct. 30, 1903

12 ft. FLA5458 (print) FRA2707 (neg.)

Shown from a single-camera position, the cartoon character Happy Hooligan and a buxom woman are sitting at a table. Underneath the table is a small boy who is fussing with the feet of the woman. She becomes annoyed, thinks Happy is guilty, picks up the roast turkey on the table, and hits him on the head with it. He tips over the table and finds the little boy and his companion; each adult grabs a boy and spansks him.

Katzenjammer Kids and School Marm

AM&B © H33542 July 18, 1903

Cameraman: G. W. Bitzer

10 ft. FLA3425 (print) FRA0713 (neg.)

The film starts on a set of a school room where ten boys and girls are sitting at desks. Their teacher gestures that she plans to leave the room and that the children should study. She goes out and, instead of studying, the youngsters throw books and erasers at one another. This continues until the teacher returns and, while she is admonishing them for their obstreperousness, she trips over a chair and falls to the floor.

The Katzenjammer Kids Have a Love Affair

AM&B © H29471 Mar. 18, 1903

Cameraman: G. W. Bitzer

11 ft. FLA3636 (print) FRA0893 (neg.)

Two young children, a boy and a girl, are sitting in a porch swing in front of a wall, part of a garden set. A larger boy comes through the gate and the two boys begin fighting. A grown woman, fortified with a kitchen broom, attempts to break up the melee by the judicious application of the broom to the boys' posteriors.

Poor Hooligan, So Hungry Too

AM&B © H37474 Nov. 2, 1903

Cameraman: G. W. Bitzer

Location: Studio, N.Y.C. Photographed: Oct. 20, 1903

21 ft. FLA4442 (print) FRA1548 (neg.)

From a single-camera position, we see a set of the side of a house. A woman comes through the door of the set and begins feeding the two small dogs with her. Her actions interest two tramps, one of whom steals the dogs' food as soon as the woman returns to the house. The act of theft is repeated when the woman replenishes the stolen food, but this time a policeman notices it and arrests the first tramp and removes him from the scene. The film ends as the happy second tramp takes over the plate of dog food.

Section of Buster Brown Series, Showing a Sketch of Buster by Outcault

Edison © H43260 Mar. 12, 1904

Cameraman: Edwin S. Porter

Location: Studio, N.Y.C.

38 ft. FLA3326 (print) FRA0638 (neg.)

The camera shows an office wall against which an easel with a white piece of paper is leaning. Standing in front of the easel is a gentleman in a tailcoat and morning trousers. He

Contributors

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nods his head to either the cameraman or the man directing the scene, to indicate that he is ready, picks up a piece of black crayon, and starts to draw a picture of a small boy and his dog. The artist was Mr. Outcault, creator of the comic strip called "Buster Brown and His Dog Tige."

Trouble in Hogan's Alley

AM&B © H34515 Aug. 13, 1903

Cameraman: Arthur Marvin

Location: Roof studio, N.Y.C. Date: July 24, 1900

10 ft. FLA3588 (print) FRA0859 (neg.)

A little girl is playing with her doll while a little boy leans against a fabricated wall in a set of an alley area of a city. A larger boy arrives, takes the girl's face in his hands and kisses her, which evidently annoys the smaller boy because he starts a fight. This commotion brings the face and shoulders of a woman through a window and she shakes her fist at another woman across the court. Before the film ends, there is a melee involving several other women and children. A policeman carrying a nightstick attempts to break up the fight but is met with the anger of all of the participants, and he is forced to turn and leave the alley.

The Twentieth Century Tramp, or, Happy Hooligan and His Airship

Edison © H13363 Jan. 27, 1902

Cameraman: Edwin S. Porter

38 ft. FLA4924 (print) FRA1923 (neg.)

This particular film was unique for the time inasmuch as the producer or cameraman attempted to show that a man riding a bicycle suspended from a small gas bag could propel himself about and above New York City. The "in camera" horizontal split screen process was accomplished by covering the lower half of the lens while the tramp was pumping his bicycle and the picture was photographed. The lens was then covered, the film was reversed, and the upper half exposed while the cameraman photographed the panorama of the city. The actor riding the bicycle suspended from the airship represents a comic strip character called "Happy Hooligan."

Why Foxy Grandpa Escaped A Ducking

AM&B © H33401 July 6, 1903

Cameraman: G. W. Bitzer

Cast: Joseph Hart as Foxy Grandpa

Photographed: June 26, 1903

20 ft. FLA3600 (print) FRA0865 (neg.)

Two small boys are creeping toward the stoop of a set of a two-story apartment house or flat. They are carrying a bucket of water that they fasten above the doorway so that if the door is opened, the contents would spill on the person going through the doorway. Their actions are observed by an old gentleman who waits until they are finished, and then rearranges the tripping mechanism. When the boys return, the water spills all over them.

This is the final issue of *Inks*.

Inks: Cartoon and Comic Art Studies began in 1994 as a pilot project to test the viability of a scholarly publication focused on printed cartoon art. With the generous support of Jean and Charles Schulz and the Ohio Joint Program in the Arts and Humanities, the journal was launched. Leading thinkers in the field nourished *Inks*, some by serving on its editorial board, others by submitting their work for publication, and some by doing both. The quality of the journal was affirmed by its inclusion in three prestigious indexes, and it won a national design prize.

We have much to be proud of in the journal. It consistently published solid, provocative, and thoughtful articles and reviews. Leading cartoonists volunteered their talent to produce interesting and amusing covers. *Inks: Cartoon and Comic Art Studies* always maintained its publication schedule, something of a rarity among scholarly journals. The creative staff of Design Communication, Inc. regularly produced eye-catching layouts that enhanced the text's content. Reader feedback was positive.

An editorial in the premier issue stated that "The purpose of *Inks* is to advance knowledge about cartooning ..."

This goal was achieved.

Lucy Shelton Caswell
Editor

THIS JOURNAL CEASED
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